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## U.S. Force May Stay in Grenada Into 1984, Congressman Says

By Bernard Weinraub

New York Times Service

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — The head of the first congressional delegation to visit Grenada since the American invasion says that it is possible that U.S. troops may be needed on the Caribbean island "into the next year."

Representative Thomas S. Foley, a Washington Democrat and leader of the 14-man congressional delegation, made his comment Saturday after meeting Grenadian and

Grenadian documents list arms purchases from Cuba, Soviet Union and North Korea. Page 5.

Caribbean officials who urged that the United States retain troops here over the next few months while Grenada forms a constitutional government and plans national elections. Mr. Foley had said earlier in the day that all U.S. troops were expected to leave "within weeks."

Two Republican members of the delegation, William S. Broomfield of Michigan and Richard Cheney of Wyoming, echoed Mr. Foley's comments that U.S. forces may stay longer than expected. "I think we'll have a contingent force at least for a few months," said Mr. Cheney.

Mr. Foley's comments came as several members of the high-level bipartisan delegation, which was

sent to Grenada by the speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., made it plain after listening to military briefings here that they had remained strong doubts about the quality of U.S. intelligence, the degree of Cuban military involvement here and the specific reasons for the invasion.

Mr. Foley said Saturday morning that despite "very strong disagreements" within the group about the invasion, the single theme that had dominated the visit so far was the necessity to withdraw the remaining 2,500 U.S. troops from the Caribbean island.

Mr. Foley and others in the delegation said a withdrawal of the troops of the 82d Airborne Division would leave a vacuum as Grenada formed a constitutional government. Congressional and State Department officials said the Reagan administration was seeking to shape an interim Commonwealth peacekeeping force that would include troops from Caribbean nations as well as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Mr. Foley and others in the delegation, including the House minority leader, Robert H. Michel, an Illinois Republican, met Friday night and Saturday with Sir Paul Scoones, the governor-general, and to Colonel Ken Barnes, the Jamaican officer who heads the 300-member Caribbean force. The legislators made it clear that the mood of Congress, the administration and the American public was to pull out the U.S. troops as quickly as possible.

On Saturday morning, Mr. Foley said, "We're talking within weeks,

several weeks." But, after meeting Sir Paul as well as numerous Grenadians who spoke warmly of the American presence and said that most of the island nation welcomed the troops, Mr. Foley said that it was possible American troops could remain in Grenada "into the next year."

Initially, more than 6,000 U.S. troops participated in the invasion of the 133-square-mile (343-square-kilometer) island after appeals from Grenada's Caribbean neighbors that the United States send a force to restore order and rescue 1,000 potentially endangered Americans, mostly medical students. At least 18 American soldiers died in the invasion.

Sir Paul, Mr. Barnes, and labor and business leaders have urged a continued American presence for several reasons. They said eastern Caribbean nations were barely equipped to join a peacekeeping force — several of these nations have no armed force at all. They also said the presence of American troops had been warmly welcomed in Grenada and had quickly created a sense of normalcy in a situation that verged on the chaotic two weeks ago.

Soviet and Libyan diplomats have been expelled in recent days, and the Cuban Mission is under guard and may close after an estimated 600 Cuban prisoners are returned home.

The congressional delegation includes members of the House Armed Services Committee, the Foreign Affairs Committee and the

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Yasser Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organization chairman, met with reporters Friday near Tripoli at the Badawi refugee camp, the target of attacks by PLO rebels.

## Israel Weighs Closure Of Lebanon Bridges

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — The Israeli cabinet discussed on Sunday the feasibility of far more drastic security measures in southern Lebanon and the possibility of making permanent the closure of bridges over the Awali River.

After hearing army and intelligence reports on Friday's suicide bombing of the Israeli Army headquarters in Tyre, in which 60 persons were killed, the cabinet put off a final decision.

Later, a senior official said the closing of the three bridges across the Awali on Friday morning was only a temporary measure dictated by security concerns.

[A senior official told The Associated Press that Israeli warplanes had not bombed Syrian forces in retaliatory air strikes against Palestinian positions after the Tyre attack.]

[Beirut radio had reported Friday that the Israelis hit Syria as well as Palestinian positions in Lebanon. The Israelis have accused Syria of involvement in the attack in Tyre, and a senior Israeli foreign policy official, in Geneva over the weekend, warned Damascus of Israel's willingness to fight.]

Meanwhile, Israeli radio and television stations reported Sunday that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens will visit Washington in late November or early December to discuss a broad range of bilateral issues, including strategic cooperation between the two governments.

Israel officials seem extremely pleased by the results of a visit here last week by the U.S. undersecretary of state, Lawrence S. Eagleburger. The visit has improved prospects for cooperation between the United States and Lebanon and the rest of the Middle East.

The explosion in Tyre, which killed 28 Israeli soldiers and 32 Lebanese and Palestinian detainees, has come as a shock to Israelis, and the public here is asking how it could have happened.

A cartoon published Sunday in Ma'ariv, a Hebrew-language newspaper, showed a bewildered Israeli looking down at the ruins in Tyre with those of the U.S. Marine and French troop barracks behind him. Over the American and French ruins are the words "first warning" and "second warning."

An analysis in Ha'aretz, another Hebrew newspaper, noted that a crackdown could lead to the creation of a "North Bank" for Israel and use of harsh measures such as those taken in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip in 1970. This included

searches, mass arrests, creation of security roads and the issuance of special identity cards that effectively halted Palestinian terrorist activities there within months.

Opinions within the Shamir government are known to be sharply divided regarding the issue of closing the three bridges across the Awali. Only two cabinet members — Interior Minister Yosef Burg and Science Minister Yuval Neeman — have publicly called for the permanent closure of the bridges.

Both Prime Minister Shamir and Defense Minister Arens are understood to be opposed to taking such a measure because of its political implications and the danger of causing a backlash from the predominantly Shiite population in the south. Such a reaction, they apparently believe, could further deteriorate the security situation.

■ Warning to Syria

Earlier, Thomas L. Friedman of The New York Times reported from Geneva.

A senior Israeli official said Saturday that Israel is prepared to confront Syria to deter acts of aggression against Israeli troops in Lebanon by Damascus and its Palestinian allies.

The official, David Kimche, director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, also said that if the Syrians thought the Israelis were preoccupied with their internal affairs and unwilling to fight, they were badly "misreading" the mood in Jerusalem.

Mr. Kimche, who was the chief Israeli negotiator in talks that produced the Israeli-Lebanese withdrawal accord last May, also dropped hints that his government might be prepared to accept minor modifications in the agreement. Although he ruled out any major changes, the hints appeared to be a significant departure from previous Israeli policy.

Several Lebanese political factions had demanded revisions in the agreement during the country's peace conference, which Mr. Kimche was in Geneva to observe. But until Mr. Kimche's remarks on Saturday, Israel had resisted all demands for revisions of the accord.

Mr. Kimche made his remarks to a small group of reporters at the Israeli Consulate, a day after the Lebanese reconciliation talks had recessed for 10 days.

His statements on Syria included a charge that Damascus had used "brutal pressure" in trying to persuade the Lebanese to abrogate the treaty. The assertions appeared to reflect a widening perception among senior Israeli and U.S. officials.

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## Arafat Is Pushed Back To His Last Stronghold

By Herbert H. Denton

Washington Post Service

TRIPOLI, Lebanon — Syrian-backed Palestinian rebels dealt Yasser Arafat's besieged forces a major defeat this weekend, capturing the Nahr al-Bared refugee camp, one of Mr. Arafat's last two Lebanese strongholds.

The rebels and allies, supported by Syrian tanks and artillery fire, were reported Sunday evening to be pushing steadily from Nahr al-Bared, 10 miles (16 kilometers) north of here, to the Badawi refugee camp on the northern fringes of this port city, which has been Mr. Arafat's operations base since mid-September.

Mr. Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, shuttled back and forth between Badawi and Tripoli as his fighters began trickling into the city, carrying mortars and heavy guns and raising fears among residents that his last big battle would be fought out on their streets.

Speaking to reporters, Mr. Arafat conceded that his forces had lost Nahr al-Bared, where about 16,000 refugees live, Saturday evening.

"Militarily speaking it had been gone for three days because it was virtually surrounded then," he said. Asked how long he thought he could hold out against the heavy offensive, Mr. Arafat said, "Let us wait and see. We will continue. We have no choice but to continue."

Members of Mr. Arafat's al-Fatah guerrilla group rebelled against the PLO chairman last May, largely because they considered him too conciliatory after the PLO's expul-

sion from Beirut last year. Syria expelled Mr. Arafat from Damascus in June after he accused Syria of backing the rebels.

Mr. Arafat said Sunday that he had no hope that Syria and the rebels would agree to a halt in the fighting. "No. No chance. No chance," he said.

Shelling around Badawi was less intense Sunday than on the previous three days of artillery bombardment. The acrid black cloud from oil fires that had hung over this city drifted away Sunday because of a change in the wind direction. But storage tanks at the Tripoli refinery continued to burn.

"Where are we going to run?" asked Wahi Shabi, a refugee-camp resident whom Arafat aides presented to reporters. "We will stick together. We will die before we leave our men."

Palestine Red Crescent physicians and orderlies worked frantically to move equipment and medical supplies out of Badawi to new quarters in the basement shelter of a school building in the center of Tripoli.

The International Committee of the Red Cross established offices in the Islamic Hospital a few blocks away. They draped a huge Red Cross flag across the front of the building to declare their presence.

In a refrigerated tractor trailer on a parking lot across from the hospital, unclaimed bodies of fighters and civilians killed in the battles numbered 34 Sunday morning.

Lebanese security sources said 20 people were killed during the day Sunday and 100 wounded, raising the casualty toll in four days to 165 dead and more than 600

wounded. Other reports said that as many as 650 people had been killed since the fighting began Thursday.

Mr. Arafat said he had decided to pull back his forces from Nahr al-Bared to spare further bloodshed and to strengthen his defenses.

His aides claimed that the rebels were backed by Syrian artillery and armor and a force of 12,000 Syrian commandos. 1,100 militiamen and 3,000 soldiers in the Syrian-commanded Palestine Liberation Army. They said 180 PLA soldiers had defected to loyalists during the fighting.

■ Beirut Factions Fight

Glenn Frankel of The Washington Post reported from Beirut.

Rival Lebanese factions traded shellfire and gunfire through Saturday night and Sunday in some of the heaviest fighting in Beirut in recent weeks, while U.S. marines tightened their security installations to guard against new violence.

The Lebanese Army exchanged artillery, rocket, mortar and sniper fire with Muslim Shiite forces in Beirut's southern suburbs and with Muslim Druze militiamen in the nearby mountains to the east.

Marines manning an outpost at the Lebanese Science University in south Beirut, just a few yards from a Lebanese Army position, were also said to have exchanged gunfire with the Shiites, although no casualties were reported.

Marines closed the seafloor road in front of the heavily guarded British and American embassies Saturday.

## U.S. Opens Campaign for New Talks On the Liberalization of World Trade

By Axel Krause

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The Reagan administration has quietly initiated "exploratory contacts" with its major trading partners about beginning a new round of worldwide trade liberalization negotiations, preferably by 1987, according to William E. Brock, the U.S. trade representative.

The talks, which would be held under the auspices of the Geneva-based General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, an agency that groups 90 industrialized and developing nations, should focus on reducing non tariff barriers to trade in industry and agriculture, primarily government subsidies, Mr. Brock said in an interview Saturday.

Mr. Brock said the United States would also urge participating nations to extend GATT rules to liberalize the fast-growing trade in services, high technology and international investments, which he said could bolster economic growth among GATT members in the years ahead.

The administration failed in previous efforts to launch negotiations in these areas, mainly because of strong resistance from India, Brazil and other leading developing nations as well as from some members of the European Community. During a tense five-day GATT ministerial meeting in Geneva last November, the most that the 88 participating nations could agree on was that GATT members "with an interest in services" would study their domestic industries.

A U.S. study, covering banking, insurance, construction and other sectors, is to be submitted to GATT later this month, Mr. Brock said. Studies by other nations are also being completed, GATT sources added.

Mr. Brock said he was encouraged by "exploratory contacts" in recent conversations with leading trade officials, notably from the EC, Japan and developing countries.

He said he was hopeful that "serious negotiations" to prepare the trade-liberalization round could begin by the end of next year or early 1985 and that this phase could be continued for roughly 18 months. "If we are lucky, we could get to the round itself in 1987," he said.

Such a pattern would roughly parallel the launching of the Tokyo Round, which was the most recent in a series of seven rounds of talks held under GATT auspices since the end of World War II.

The Tokyo Round negotiations, which ran from 1973 to 1979, resulted in substantial worldwide tariff reductions, new codes on customs valuation and streamlined GATT procedures aimed at reducing non tariff barriers, particularly in industry.

"We have not started to line up people yet, nor are we pushing for commitments at this stage," Mr. Brock said, "but today there is substantially less resistance to what we are seeking in the Third World and elsewhere." He added, "The process is just beginning."

He met last week with Japanese trade officials in Tokyo and with trade ministers and officials from about 20 industrialized and developing nations during the weekend in Lausanne, Switzerland.

Mr. Brock acknowledged that there are recessionary problems among crucial U.S. trade partners, strained relations within the European Community over farm subsidies and strong resistance to trade liberalization in Japan. But he said

he thinks that conditions now are more favorable for starting a new trade liberalization round than in the past. He cited the following developments:

• Efforts are being made within the European Community to reform the Common Agricultural Policy. Specifically, intense discussions are under way among member nations and the EC Commission to reduce soaring farm spending, which is threatening to outstrip the community's financial resources.

• Some progress is being made on improving Western access to Japan's markets, particularly in the field of high technology. Mr. Brock cited last month's announcement by Nippon Telegraph & Telephone Public Corp. that it will buy several U.S. products.

U.S. and Japanese negotiators also have virtually agreed on a plan to eliminate tariffs on semiconductor trade, which would substantially expand U.S. access to the Japanese market.

The semiconductor agreement could be announced during the visit to Japan by President Ronald Reagan that begins Wednesday.

• The growth of the U.S. trade deficit to around \$64 billion this year and possibly to \$100 billion in 1984 represents an opportunity for the United States' trading partners. Mr. Brock cited the recent decline in U.S. exports because of the strong dollar and predicted that imports into the United States would continue to rise as the U.S. recovery picks up steam.

"Our trading partners, particularly the Europeans, with their terrible problem of unemployment, should take advantage of the recovery and export more," Mr. Brock said.



United Press International

## Conservatives Take Lead in Turkish Election

Voters in the Anatolia region of western Turkey cast their ballots Sunday in the country's first general election since the 1980 military coup. The statistics reported that with about 17 percent of the votes counted, the conservative Motherland Party had received 45.5 percent of the vote in the race among the three parties allowed by the military to contest the election. The moderate leftist Populist Party was second with 29.4 percent, followed by the Nationalist Democracy Party, the preferred choice of the ruling military, with 24.1 percent. Commentators said that it was too early to predict the breakdown of the 400 seats in the parliament. Final results were not expected before late Monday.

## Andropov Misses a Major Ceremony

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — President Yuri V. Andropov, who has not been seen in public for more than two months, failed to appear Saturday at one of the Soviet Union's most important political ceremonies. His absence touched off rumors that he may be seriously ill.

The last time Mr. Andropov was seen by foreign visitors and on tele-

vision here was on Aug. 18, when he received a delegation of U.S. senators. Since then, he has publicly called off one visit and is said to have postponed several others.

Mr. Andropov's absence from Saturday's rally marked the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, which toppled the tsarist regime and led to the formation of the Soviet Union. Mr. Andropov's absence from the ceremony and an annual military parade Monday in Red Square.

After the ceremony, Leonid M. Zamyatin, the head of the Communist Party Central Committee's information department, told Western journalists that Mr. Andropov had had a cold for the past 10 days but that his illness was not serious.

But Mr. Zamyatin also said he did not expect Mr. Andropov to attend Monday's parade. "It's up to his doctors to decide whether he makes an appearance," he said.

Several Soviet officials, who an hour earlier had asserted that Mr. Andropov was well and would be present at Saturday's ceremonies, said afterward that the Soviet leader had already made public the fact that he was suffering from a cold.

In a statement issued by Tass on Oct. 29, Mr. Andropov was quoted as saying that he was unable to meet with a delegation from the International Organization of Physicians Against Nuclear War because of a cold.

East European sources said they

had heard that Mr. Andropov had undergone surgery for an unspecified ailment. They said that the Polish head of state, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, had been scheduled to visit Moscow on Oct. 21, but that this trip was canceled. Officials also called off Mr. Andropov's visit to Bulgaria on Oct. 24.

Except for Mr. Zamyatin's remarks, there was no official word

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## China Starts Drive Against 'Spiritual Pollution'

By Christopher S. Wren

New York Times Service

BEIJING — China has begun a major campaign against what it disparagingly calls "spiritual pollution" — the influx of unwelcome Western trends and liberal values attributed to China's open-door policy toward the West.

The crackdown has come in the aftermath of last month's full session of the Communist Party Central Committee, which announced a three-year program to clean up the party and rid it of radical and corrupt members.

Deng Xiaoping, China's foremost leader, raised the issue of spiritual pollution in a major speech to the closed session of the committee. The text of his speech has not been made public, but some Western diplomats speculated that it was part of Mr. Deng's strategy for undercutting opposition to the party's so-called rectification campaign.

The party's propaganda chief, Deng Lixun, recently confirmed that the crackdown on spiritual pollution was "closely linked" with the party's rectification campaign.

He went on to identify four categories of cultural contamination.

These were, he said, the spread of "obscene, barbarous or reactionary things," vulgar artistic performances, gaudy-seeking and "indulgence in individualism, anarchism, liberalism, etc." and writings or speeches that contradicted China's communist system.

The campaign has been directed principally against literature and the arts, familiar scapegoats in previous ideological crusades. The broad scope became more apparent Thursday when the People's Daily published a self-criticism by Culture Minister Zhu Mu, in which he apologized for his ministry's "slow reaction and weak attitude" in fighting cultural contamination.

In the same newspaper, Ai Qing, a prominent poet who suffered under the Maoists, was quoted as complaining that some Chinese literary magazines were "polluting" the minds of readers with material that ran counter to the official ideology. Several regional literary magazines have been suppressed for not being orthodox enough, according to reports in the Chinese press.

There was evidence earlier that a tougher line was being taken toward liberal trends. In September, a play by Jean-Paul Sartre was closed in Shanghai. Sartre's writings were criticized last year for having a negative impact on



# Study Urges Limited Missile Deployment

U.S. Scholar Says 'Token' Pershing Force Would Keep Soviet at Bargaining Table

By Henry Tanner

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The United States and its European allies should proceed with a limited deployment of new American nuclear weapons in Europe but should keep this deployment within strict numerical and qualitative limits that further U.S. Soviet negotiations in Geneva would be not only possible but regarded by the Soviet Union as attractive and even indispensable.

This is the central conclusion of a study by William V. Gardner, an American expert on Soviet affairs and strategic questions, to be published Monday by the Atlantic Institute on International Affairs, a privately funded, independent research and study center in Paris.

The originality of his 135-page assessment is that it not only reflects Western perceptions of Soviet attitudes but also includes a detailed and documented analysis of what he calls Soviet "threat perceptions" — that is, what Soviet experts really expect to be the impact of the Pershing-2 and cruise medium-range missiles, as well as the future MX and Trident-2 systems, on the security of the Soviet Union and military-political objectives of the Soviet leadership.

Mr. Gardner's study was prepared over several years as part of a Ph.D. dissertation for Georgetown University in Washington.

He conducted talks with Soviet experts at the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow and at other Soviet institutes as well as with Western officials.

His key theme is that despite their current threats to the contrary, the Soviet leaders are likely to accept a "token" deployment of perhaps half the 108 Pershing-2 missiles earmarked for West Germany and in that case would continue to negotiate in Geneva, perhaps after a temporary breakoff, "because an agreement would restrain the United States from increasing both capabilities and numbers of these systems to the point where they could realize their strategic potential" for pre-emptive nuclear strikes.

Mr. Gardner writes: "NATO shares an interest with the Soviets in ensuring that Pershing-2 deployments neither create a 'hair trigger' nor preclude arms control negotiations by which one might reduce incentives for both sides to base their strategies on pre-emptive nuclear strikes."

"Quantitative subliminals on the

Pershing-2 force, qualitative restrictions against arming it with more effective warheads or otherwise increasing its range, would give the Soviets some reassurance and give NATO possible future leverage toward arms reduction in Europe."

He adds that a "qualitatively restrained deployment" of Pershing-2s in West Germany could produce a meaningful reduction of the SS-20s, the missile that gives the Soviet Union its current nuclear superiority in Europe.

"NATO has every reason to limit deployments to a level where [the Pershing-2s] do not display a capability to dominate a nuclear war limited to Europe or a pre-emptive threat to Soviet strategic command and control but [to a level] large enough to reinforce the 'coupling' of American strategic forces to the defense of the European theater," Mr. Gardner writes.

He suggests that once the first missiles are in place, the Soviet Union and NATO have a common interest in keeping deployment to a low level.

He believes it is essential that American deployments "remain below the level to which the Soviet Union might be prepared to build down."

An important theme of the study is that the current negotiations and public dispute over the stationing of U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe is merely a chapter in the Soviet-American arms race, and certainly not the final chapter.

Despite the Soviet perception that Pershing-2s stationed in Europe could destroy vital Soviet command and communications centers and reach as far as Moscow, the Soviet assessment of the military threat from these weapons is not the only, and perhaps not even the most important, factor in the present Soviet negotiating posture, according to Mr. Gardner.

Soviet analysts, he writes, do not seem to anticipate a "window-in-time" during the 1980s when the

stationing of the Pershing-2s would give either the United States or NATO the kind of weapons superiority that could lead Western leaders to believe that a nuclear war against the Soviet Union would be winnable.

But he adds that Moscow appears to attribute to the Pershing-2s a key role during the 1986-89 period, along with the new MX strategic missile, in providing the United States what Soviet leaders "judge to be an option for a 'desperation' pre-emptive strike."

Soviet "threat perceptions" for the 1990s are different from those for the 1980s because of the modernization program now under way in the U.S. nuclear arsenal, according to Mr. Gardner. By the 1990s a single U.S. Trident-2 submarine would be able to attack three times as many vital Soviet command and communications centers as the entire force of 108 Pershing-2s earmarked for West Germany, and more swiftly, he writes.

He adds that the seaborne Trident-2s would also have a better chance to survive a Soviet counterstrike than the land-based Pershing-2s.

Soviet analysts would judge the later period to be more dangerous because the United States might acquire, even if only temporarily, a clear margin of "withholdable counterforce superiority," he writes in conclusion.

His thesis is that because of such longer-term considerations and in spite of the high stakes in the current conflict over missile deployment, there may yet be a possibility for a compromise agreement in Geneva that would be in the interest of both NATO and the Soviet Union.

"On balance, this analysis supports the conclusion that both a limited U.S. deployment [of new missiles in Europe] and a compromise 'interim agreement' are achievable and would each contribute to the long-range goal of achieving 'military détente' in Europe," he concludes.



President Amin Gemayel of Lebanon and former President Suleiman Franjeh, of the Syrian-backed National Salvation Front, embraced Saturday near Geneva after reconciliation talks adjourned until Nov. 14 to let Mr. Gemayel investigate ways of getting Israeli troops out of Lebanon.

## U.S., Lebanon Weigh Strike Against Rockets

By Bernard Gwertzman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The United States has been conferring with the Lebanese government about using military force against a rocket battery manned by pro-Iranian Lebanese that threatens U.S. Marine posts, U.S. officials said.

The officials said Saturday that the rapid-fire Soviet-made rocket battery was believed to be in position to be used against the marines at Beirut's airport.

The U.S. contingent of the four-nation peacekeeping force in Lebanon suffered about 230 dead from a truck-bomb explosion on Oct. 23 at its airport headquarters. U.S. officials have said they think the attack was planned by Iran with Syrian help.

"The rocket battery will have to go, the only question is how," a State Department official said. He said the Lebanese Army or the U.S. Navy offshore might do it. He said the Lebanese, in the middle of negotiations on national reconciliation, would prefer to avoid a publicity military action and were trying to remove the battery through talks with those who command it.

Officials said any action against the battery would be separate from any retaliation for the bombing of the Marine headquarters. No decision has been taken, they said, on when and how to retaliate. If a decision is taken, the navy will have a large fleet on station in the Mediterranean.

Pentagon officials said the carrier Eisenhower and the battleship New Jersey were still in the eastern Mediterranean. In addition, the carrier John F. Kennedy, which had been in the western Mediterranean awaiting exercises with Spain, has been ordered east.

The carrier Independence, leading a battle group that carries 1,800 marines, is in the Atlantic on its way from Grenada. Pentagon officials said this group was originally scheduled to replace the Eisenhower and the marines now in Lebanon.

Altogether, about 30 U.S. ships with 300 planes will soon be in the eastern Mediterranean.

With tensions in Lebanon running high, U.S. officials viewed the

situation as volatile. They cited terrorist bombings of U.S., French and Israeli forces and attacks by Syrian-backed Palestinians against the Palestine Liberation Organization forces led by Yasser Arafat in northern Lebanon.

The United States still believes that the Iranians and their Lebanese Shiite Muslim allies were responsible for the bombings, with Syrian assistance. Israel retaliated Friday with air strikes against Syrian and Palestinian positions for a truck-bomb attack that day on an Israeli Army post in the port of Tyre in southern Lebanon.

State Department officials said there was concern over the rocket battery and that air power or naval fire might be directed against it as a pre-emptive move.

There are factors mitigating against such a step, officials said. The negotiations among President Amin Gemayel of Lebanon and the Lebanese factions are at a crucial stage. They recessed in Geneva on Friday to give him time to discuss possible revisions of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement of May 17, which sets the terms for Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon.

The United States wants to keep the Lebanese focused on those talks, State Department officials said, and not create a diversion by military action. In addition, President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George P. Shultz are due to leave Washington Tuesday for a trip to Japan and South Korea, and the White House would like to avoid military action while Mr. Reagan is abroad.

But the officials said that the marines' safety had to be given high priority, and if military action was needed, it would be taken.

The Syrians have been nervous about the possibility of American military moves and have been telling U.S. diplomats that they had nothing to do with the explosion that killed the marines. On Friday, Tass, the Soviet government news agency, said the United States was planning a major military assault in Lebanon.

U.S. officials said they believed that this statement was motivated by Syrian concern, since it echoed statements in the Syrian press last week.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Gemayel Delays Departure for U.S.

PARIS (Combined Dispatches) — President Amin Gemayel of Lebanon on Sunday delayed his departure for Washington on the second stage of a tour aimed at securing Western and Arab help in getting a negotiated early withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

Mr. Gemayel met President François Mitterrand of France on Saturday on his first stop after a conference in Geneva of Lebanese factional leaders gave him a mandate for talks on an Israeli pullback. A spokesman for Mr. Mitterrand said that Mr. Gemayel was not expected to hold any further talks with French officials.

He said that Mr. Gemayel had been expected to leave Paris for Washington Sunday morning, but he delayed his departure for unknown reasons. U.S. officials told The Associated Press that it appeared unlikely he could meet President Ronald Reagan in Washington at this time as Mr. Reagan is leaving Tuesday morning on an Asian tour.

### 6 Reported Shot at Israeli Prison Camp

BEIRUT (UPI) — Israeli guards shot four prisoners to death Sunday and wounded two others during a demonstration at the Israeli prison camp Ansur in southern Lebanon, Lebanese television said. An Israeli military source in Tel Aviv called the report "a fabrication."

Reports of the demonstration were made two days after Israel said that an Israeli bulldozer had crushed six Palestinian prisoners at the camp. Wafa, the Palestine Liberation Organization news agency, said the six had been executed for trying to escape.

The prison camp houses 5,000 Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners.

### Alfonso Pledges Growth of Economy

RIO DE JANEIRO (AP) — Raúl Alfonsín, the Argentine president-elect, said in an interview published Sunday he would not let renegotiating the country's foreign debt "impede the resumption of Argentina's economic growth."

"More important than the foreign debt is eradicating the country's misery," Mr. Alfonsín said in the interview published in *Veja*, Brazil's largest weekly news magazine. "We will negotiate with payment periods compatible with our conditions, maintaining our tradition as good payers." Argentina has \$40 billion foreign debt.

Mr. Alfonsín, 56, who led the Radical Civic Union party to victory in elections on Oct. 30, also said he would revoke the law giving amnesty for human rights violations and judge members of the military on a case-by-case basis.

### Medicare Panel Urges Major Changes

WASHINGTON (NYT) — A federal advisory committee has voted to recommend major changes in Medicare, including raising the age of eligibility to 67 and increasing the premiums paid by beneficiaries, as part of a comprehensive package to avert the bankruptcy of the U.S. government's health-care program for the elderly.

The panel also called on Congress to broaden the revenue base by raising the federal excise taxes on alcohol and tobacco products and setting aside the extra receipts for Medicare.

Otis R. Bowen, the chairman of the 13-member advisory body, said that the proposed changes could produce \$300 billion in new revenues and savings over the next decade, thereby eliminating the projected deficit in Medicare's hospital insurance trust fund. Mr. Bowen, a Republican, is a former governor of Indiana.

### Thatcher and FitzGerald to Meet Today

LONDON (UPI) — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is scheduled to hold talks Monday with her Irish counterpart, Garret FitzGerald, for the first time since 1981, to discuss strife in Northern Ireland and bilateral relations.

Political sources in London and Dublin stressed that Monday's talks would be low-key and would not involve any new initiative to resolve the Northern Ireland conflict. "Dr. FitzGerald will be more interested in restoring good relations" after the Irish criticized Britain last year for going to war with Argentina over the Falkland Islands, a government source in Dublin said.

On the eve of the talks, police in Northern Ireland were on full alert after three policemen were killed and 43 persons injured in three separate attacks.

### Thorn Optimistic on Hong Kong Role

HONG KONG (Reuters) — Gaston Thorn, president of the European Community Commission, said Sunday after visiting China that he was optimistic about the future of Hong Kong, and said the community considered it important to preserve the colony's role in world trade.

Mr. Thorn, in Hong Kong after four days in China, said he had stressed the British colony's contribution to international trade during his talks with Chinese officials. Britain and China are negotiating the colony's future after 1997, when a lease on most of the territory expires.

"Hong Kong is an important part of the international trading system and all its trading partners, including the European Community, attach importance to preservation of these links," Mr. Thorn said. "I am optimistic about the future of Hong Kong because nobody, and certainly not China, has any interest in putting at risk the prosperity of this place."

### For the Record

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada was scheduled to leave Ottawa Monday for talks with the leaders of France, West Germany, Britain, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands, as well as with Pope John Paul II. He was expected to discuss a plan to improve dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, officials said. (AP)

A former leader of Amnesty International's Soviet chapter, Vladimir Albrecht, will go on trial Thursday for anti-Soviet agitation, supporters said Sunday in Moscow. Mr. Albrecht, 50, was arrested in April on charges of "knowingly disseminating fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system." (AP)

King Hassan II of Morocco has announced the formation of a government that will include the opposition. The government, which will include six parties, will supervise legislative elections set for early next year, the king said in a broadcast Saturday from Rabat. (Reuters)

## Andropov Misses Ceremony; Serious Illness Is Rumored

(Continued from Page 1)

on Mr. Andropov's health. But the appearance of his portrait along Monday's parade route was viewed as an indication that Mr. Andropov's absence was attributable to health rather than political problems.

A series of statements in Mr. Andropov's name have been published in the past two months, most of them focusing on the deployment, scheduled to begin next month, of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

On Saturday morning, the Soviet press carried a decree signed by Mr. Andropov on important military promotions.

Mr. Andropov's absence overshadowed Saturday's ceremonies, which were attended by all Moscow-based Politburo members, Konstantin U. Chernenko, 71, Mr. Andropov's main rival in the past, led the other members of the ruling body to the stage.

The keynote speaker was Mr. Romanov, 60, former leader of the party's Leningrad chapter and a member of the Politburo.

Mr. Romanov received applause when he said the Soviet Union would respond to the deployment of the new U.S. missiles by putting missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia and taking other unspecified retaliatory steps.

Mr. Romanov denounced the Reagan administration, but also said Moscow would continue its "peace" policy and that it wanted to improve ties with the United States.

Several members of Congress expressed skepticism about the rationale for the invasion, and the information they received on Saturday

## Congressman Sees Longer U.S. Stay in Grenada

(Continued from Page 1)

Intelligence Committee as well as aides.

At a briefing late Friday at the still-incomplete Port Salines airport, Major General Edward Trosbach, commander of the 82d Airborne Division, told the congressman that the Grenadian People's Revolutionary Army had generally been an inept combat force but that the Cubans had fought well.

Several members of Congress expressed skepticism about the rationale for the invasion, and the information they received on Saturday

seemed to confirm some of their doubts.

"I think we are just plain confused about why the United States went in," said Representative Don L. Bonker, a Washington Democrat and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, as he walked beside warehouses crammed with Soviet AK-47 rifles, 82mm mortars, anti-aircraft guns and Czechoslovak-made hand grenades.

"What we're finding is impressive in terms of Cuban and Eastern European military equipment," he said. "But when the president announced his reasons for the invasion, all he said was that we were

going in to save American lives and end the political chaos here, nothing about Cuban weapons."

Nonetheless, a congressional aide, who described himself as "one of the more left-wing people on this trip," said he was impressed at the stacked warehouses of weapons in southern Grenada. "There seems to be a potential threat here, but not an actual threat," he said.

Such a view was disputed by several senior Democrats and Republicans on the Armed Services Committee, including Samuel S. Stratton, a New York Democrat, and Elwood Hillis, a Republican from Indiana.

## Israel Weighs Security Measures in Lebanon

(Continued from Page 1)

cials that since Israeli troops withdrew from the Beirut area on Sept. 4, Syria and its surrogates have been aggressively asserting their influence over the Lebanese government, as well as supporting attacks like those against French and U.S. installations Oct. 23 and on the Israeli military compound Friday.

"The Syrians are moving at a very rapid rate in a direction which can only lead, if it continues, toward confrontation," Mr. Kimche said.

He said his government had intelligence reports that gave it "every reason to believe" that Syrian and Iranian forces in Lebanon were

involved in the attacks on the U.S. French and Israeli barracks.

Mr. Kimche declared that "Israel doesn't want war." But he continued, "If the Syrians are to use aggression in any manner or form, they will find Israel more than ready to reply to such aggression."

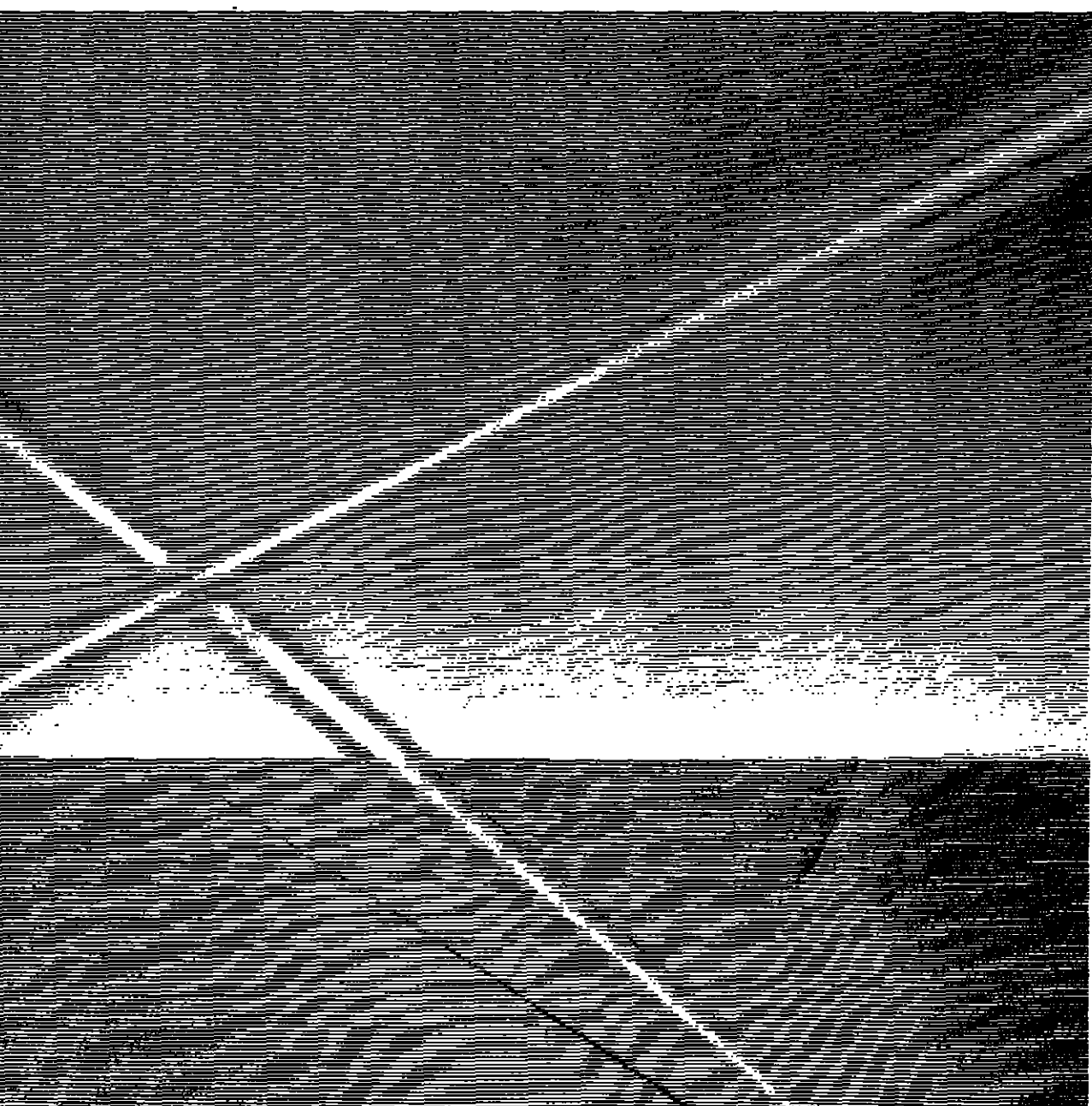
A number of ranking U.S. and Israeli policymakers have argued that there can never be a Lebanese reconciliation and withdrawal of foreign forces unless the balance of power there is radically shifted to the disadvantage of Syria.

Mr. Kimche appeared to endorse this line of thinking, saying: "I think the Lebanese as much as we don't want to see terrorism taking root in their country again. I think

that if we show the Syrians and the terrorists that they cannot have their own way, this may be for the good of the diplomatic efforts."

When asked if Israel would accept any modifications in the security accord with Lebanon, Mr. Kimche said: "We would not accept any basic change in that agreement."

The fact that he did not unequivocally rule out the possibility of revisions was clearly not an accident. Mr. Kimche was asked the question in three different ways and each time he left open the possibility of revisions, while always adding that this was not what Israel preferred or expected.



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AMERICAN TOPICS

Rights and Royalties

People who tape music from the radio or from albums may be saving money, but they are costing songwriters, performers, publishers, record companies and other copyright holders a bundle in lost royalties, the recording industry contends.

Not surprisingly, the industry is actively backing legislation pending in the Senate that seeks to recover some of the lost royalties for the music makers. Called the Home Recording Act, the bill would require the manufacturers and importers of tape recorders and blank tapes to contribute to a royalty pool that would be divided among the copyright holders of recorded music.

Among supporters and opponents alike, few doubt that consumers will end up footing the bill in the form of higher prices for tapes and recording equipment.

A spokesman for the Audio Recording Rights Coalition, which includes the makers and sellers of tapes and tape recorders, says the proposed legislation amounts to "a subsidy to the consumer's expense" and an unfair penalty on Americans who use their tape recorders and blank tapes for purposes other than taping music.

Proponents of the bill, who call themselves the Coalition to Save America's Music, were backed by Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, in testimony before a Senate Subcommittee on Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks. "There is very little the recording industry can do to achieve profitability in the face of the continual expansion of home taping," he said.

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Notes on People

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, has received a charter membership card from the Republican Governors Association with a letter signed by President Ronald Reagan. The letter, addressed to the Honorable Edward Kennedy, thanks him for supporting Republican candidates for governor last year, a service not given, according to the senator's office.



Edward M. Kennedy

Although Ruth O. Gloster pleaded guilty in 1980 to taking the government's money through welfare fraud, the government had no business then firing her as a janitor, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington has ruled. A three-judge panel ordered her reinstated as a janitor for the General Services Administration and awarded her back pay.

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D.C. Bar

The first woman elected to the post, she will take office next year.

Women have been moving into the legal profession at a rapid pace. They now account for 15 percent of the nation's attorneys and 37 percent of all law students, the American Bar Association estimates.

Female attorneys earn an average of \$33,000 a year compared with \$33,000 for men, ABA statistics show. This is partly because 60 percent of women attorneys are under age 35, compared to 31 percent of the men.

Richest and Poorest

The nation's wealthiest congressional district is Maryland's Eighth District, in the Washington, D.C., suburban area of Montgomery County, where median family income is \$33,404, says a new Census Bureau study. The poorest is New York's 18th district, in the South Bronx, where median family income is just \$8,448.

The study of the nation's 435 congressional districts highlights Detroit's high joblessness. The two districts leading in unemployment are Michigan's 13th in downtown Detroit, with 21.9 percent unemployment, and the First, in north central Detroit, with 18 percent unemployment.

The Census Bureau also shows that Florida's 18th District, in Miami and Miami Beach, was the only one in the nation with a majority of foreign-born residents, 52.2 percent. Blacks are the majority in 15 congressional districts, led by Illinois First, in Chicago's South Side, with 92.1 percent. Hispanic people are a majority in nine districts; the Texas 19th, in the southern part of the state, has the highest percentage, 71.7 percent.

One-Liners

Following a National Transportation Safety Board finding that drunkenness is a leading cause of pleasure-boat accidents, federal officials plan to take an anti-alcohol tack in next year's boat-safety campaign.

Douglas Bennett, a former administrator at the U.S. Agency for International Development, congressional staffer and research organization president, is the new president of the country's largest public radio network, National Public Radio.

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Development Slowly Invades a Quiet Florida County

By Reginald Stuart

New York Times Service

SOPCHOPPY, Florida.—In a state whose population has been growing dramatically, Wakulla County is one of the last bastions of the old, unspoiled Florida.

Situated on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, just below Leon County and the state capital at Tallahassee, Wakulla County has the 10th smallest population among Florida's 67 counties, 10,887. As in a small family, nearly everyone who has been here for awhile knows almost everyone else. The shoreline has no beaches known for size or surf, just a quiet sandy shore where fiddler crabs roam freely and seagrass beds thrive.

It is a mixed blessing, some say, that for years Carlton Tucker, the county clerk, knew every person selected for a jury on a first-name basis.

It is a statement of respect to the Lord that Charlie W. Tucker, 87, one of the county's best-known painters, goes to church every Sunday even though his partial loss of hearing makes it impossible to hear most of the service, says Alma, his wife of 62 years.

It is a labor of love, say admirers of the Spears family, that Lee Spears, 55, is a third-generation commercial fisherman here and that his two sons are growing up in the family business.

And it is a tribute to community enthusiasm over worm grunting that the people of Sopchoppy are hesitant to single anyone out as the best. Grunting is the art of drawing worms to the earth's surface by placing a stick in the ground and rubbing it with a metal object to cause vibrations.

But the quiet life of Wakulla County is changing, just as it has in past years in such places as the so-called Redneck Riviera of the panhandle to the west and Dade and Broward counties to the south.

Signs of change, some of them subtle, others more dramatic, are emerging everywhere. Growth and development are marching on what one real estate agent has promoted as Florida's last frontier.

About 60 percent of the land in Wakulla County is owned by either the federal government, which maintains its share as wildlife preserves and national forests, or St. Joe Paper Co., which harvests and replants timber. Builders of condominiums have their eyes on the remaining available shoreline, while many individuals are seeking heavily wooded property further inland to get away from the life of the "big city"—Tallahassee, population 175,000.

Thomas A. Hardy, 56, a retired state employee who moved to nearby Panama before moving to Sopchoppy, got a rude awakening to the county's changing life a few months back. One day he looked out of his small, barn-shaped wooden house on the

shore, and saw construction crews plowing away on land adjacent to his.

Today an angry Tom Hardy lives within 30 feet (nine meters) of a three-story, three-building, \$1.5-million, condominium complex that covers 90 percent of the lot on which it was built. "It used to be real beautiful out here," Mr. Hardy said as he stood in his yard, the imposing structure looming up behind him.

There are plans for hundreds more condominiums, county officials say.

Lee Spears, whose expertise in commercial fishing is matched only by his chewing-tobacco tales, is getting his own rude awakening. He has joined the chorus of commercial fishermen who complain that sport fishermen are growing in numbers and hoisting nets as big as the ones of those who do it for a living. When the sport fishermen are not vying for turf in the water, recreational boats are buzzing by, "blowing fish out of the water" as they pass, Mr. Spears complained.

"We're being pushed completely aside in the name of free waters," Mr. Spears said. "We have a heritage here," he added, pointing to a nearby spot on the shore where his father had had a stroke and another spot where another longtime commercial fisherman here had suffered a heart attack and died shortly afterward. "I don't do this for the money," said Mr. Spears. "I do it because my pa and my grandpa did it."

Some defense specialists think the real test of the Reagan administration's employment of military power and its control over military forces has yet to come, most likely in Lebanon.

Senior military officers, who once opposed dispatching a military force to Lebanon but who now oppose withdrawal in the face of terrorism, have been urging the administration to allow the marines to defend themselves better.

In addition, the administration is seriously studying ways of retaliating against the terrorists who blew up the marine headquarters at Beirut Airport, if it can identify them.

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Reagan Is Said to Allow Larger Military Say in Security Policy

By Richard D. Halloran

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON.—The Reagan administration has encouraged a quiet but steady expansion of military influence in decisions about national security, according to administration officials, military officers and former defense officials.

In the Grenada operation, President Ronald Reagan and Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger turned over control of the invasion almost completely to military officers once the president had given the go-ahead, administration officials said.

On many longer-range issues, the star of General John W. Vessey Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has risen. General Vessey, an army officer, stays out of the public eye, but civilian officials and military officers alike say his advice has been increasingly well received.

The administration has solicited a measure to Congress that would strengthen the role of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs and the joint staff.

The legislation, passed by the House and currently before the Senate, would shift the legal status of the chairman from adviser to commander. Now, General Vessey is not legally in the chain of command but is the senior military adviser to the president and secretary of defense. He has no military authority and acts only in the name of the secretary.

If Congress approves, General Vessey and his successors would have authority to issue orders in their own names. Military officers doubt that, in reality, much will change, however.

In terms of personnel, several military officers or former officers have been moved into positions usually held by civilians. The new national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, is a former marine colonel; his deputy, Rear Admiral John M. Poindexter, comes from the navy.

"But don't be misled," cautioned a military officer. "The president and the secretary of defense are still in charge. Nobody around here doubts that." A former defense official said: "The military people have no illusions that they are in control."

The practice of naming former or serving military officers to positions usually filled by civilians is not new. The most notable was General George C. Marshall, who served both as secretary of defense and secretary of state after World War II.

More recently, Brent Scowcroft, an air force lieutenant general, was Henry A. Kissinger's deputy when Mr. Kissinger was President Richard M. Nixon's national security adviser. General Scowcroft, now retired, heads Mr. Reagan's commission on strategic nuclear forces.

Officials and officers pointed out that the military was not brought into the planning of the Grenada operation until Mr. Reagan had decided to invade. Moreover, an official said, "General Vessey had walked a narrow line so as not to politicize his position."

Some military ventures have been closely controlled by the administration, particularly the deployment of marines to Lebanon. But the military has acted as a brake in Central America, according to military officers, seeking to dissuade the administration from looking for military solutions to political and economic problems.

The sources agreed that military influence may be stronger on Reagan administration officials than it was on officials of previous administrations. "These people believe in military power, independent military power," said another former defense official. "To them it has an aura all its own."

Mr. Reagan acts on military matters as he does in most others, consulting himself with setting policy and making decisions, then leaving details to others. That is especially true on military issues, the sources said, because he has confidence in Mr. Weinberger.

In the eyes of critics, the president and Mr. Weinberger are too impressed by uniformed officers. Mr. Weinberger, for instance, is an avowed admirer of General Douglas MacArthur, under whom he served as an infantry captain in World War II.

Mr. Weinberger, however, does not consider himself a tactician, and thus is disposed to leave such matters to professional soldiers. "He figures he hires you to do a job,"

Reagan Hesitation on '84 Said to Delay Fund Drive

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON.—President Ronald Reagan's reluctance to announce whether or not he will seek re-election until early next year has forced campaign officials to scale back plans for a major direct-mail fund-raising drive this month, according to Republican sources.

Last summer, White House officials decided to send the appeal to 22 million Americans in November, on the assumption that Mr. Reagan would formally enter the race in mid-December.

Now, however, Mr. Reagan appears to have postponed an announcement on his plans.

As a result, campaign officials have reduced the number of fund-raising letters to be mailed this fall to 500,000 to 800,000. They plan to send the rest if Mr. Reagan makes an official announcement to run. He has indicated that he will disclose his plans before his 73d birthday on Feb. 6.

The reason for the shift is that postponement of a formal announcement would make it more difficult to raise money from all 22 million contributors, officials said.

Appointment Expected  
Margaret Hance, the mayor of Phoenix, is to be named co-chairwoman of Mr. Reagan's re-election campaign on Monday, heading the effort with Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada. The Associated Press reported from Phoenix. It quoted Reagan aides cited Sunday by The Arizona Republic.

Mrs. Hance is expected to begin working for the campaign on Jan. 1, when her fourth term as mayor expires, the newspaper said.

Renewal of Law On Waste Hazards Voted by House

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON.—The House of Representatives, ending a long congressional stalemate over environmental legislation, has agreed by voice vote to reauthorize the law regulating the handling, shipping and disposal of hazardous wastes.

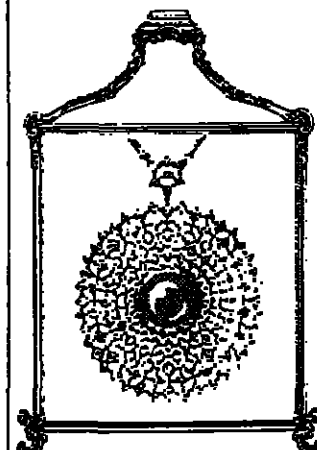
In so doing, the House adopted one amendment Thursday that makes more companies that produce hazardous waste subject to regulation, and another to phase out the disposal of hazardous waste in landfills over the next few years.

The law, called the Resources Conservation and Recovery Act, thus becomes the first of the major anti-pollution statutes administered by the Environmental Protection Agency to be reauthorized by either chamber of Congress since the Reagan administration took office nearly three years ago. The law still must be reauthorized by the Senate.

Spending authority for this law, along with the Clean Air and Water Acts, the Toxic Substances Control Act and the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Acts, had expired, but the EPA had continued to enforce them with appropriations from Congress made without specific reauthorization.



General John W. Vessey Jr.



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## Reagan Visit Likely to Provide A Political Boost for Nakasone

By Clyde Haberman  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — It may not be what he had in mind, but when President Ronald Reagan arrives for a state visit this week he will probably find himself caught up in a political campaign.

No election has been called, but signs point to one sometime in the last two weeks of December, and that means the politicking is under way.

For Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Mr. Reagan's trip could not have come at a more opportune time. Domestic politics has been, by normally tame Japanese standards, nothing short of odd lately, and Mr. Nakasone appears to have suffered a little damage. With West Germany's chancellor, Helmut Kohl, here last week and with the U.S. president coming Wednesday, Mr. Nakasone has been hoping his relatively aggressive style of foreign policy can offset domestic losses.

That assumes all goes well in his talks with Mr. Reagan, which most officials consider a reasonable bet. The early word is that the two leaders will try to emphasize their points of agreement, not trade and defense frictions.

Mr. Reagan will be here for three days, followed by a two-day trip to South Korea, where he will seek to bolster the government of President Chun Doo Hwan. That government is still reshaping itself after last month's bombing in Burma that killed four cabinet ministers and two of Mr. Chun's closest aides.

In Japan, political analysts say voters do not pay much attention to foreign affairs. But Mr. Nakasone has based a good part of his appeal on his international style, especially his relations with Mr. Reagan. These have been friendly, to the point that they call each other "Ron" and "Yasi."

At the least, this trip is not likely to hurt Mr. Nakasone, any more than he seems to have been harmed

by his government's agreement last week to extend to a fourth year what are politely called "voluntary" restraints on automobile exports to the United States. In exchange, the Americans accepted an

### NEWS ANALYSIS

increase in the ceiling from 1.68 million cars to 1.85 million.

The Japanese do not like the idea of their cars sitting on the Yokohama docks instead of in American garages. However, the latest deal was such a foregone conclusion — perhaps even an obligatory well-coming gift to Mr. Reagan — that Mr. Nakasone is not bracing for trouble on this score.

More worrisome are purely domestic concerns, rooted in an opposition boycott that has paralyzed Japan's parliament since Oct. 12, when former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka was convicted of taking substantial bribes from the Lockheed Corp.

Despite weeks of clamor for his resignation, Mr. Tanaka, 65, has refused to give up the Diet seat he has held since 1947. He says he is innocent and insists that his rural

### Zimbabwe Curbs Reports on Rebels

New York Times Service

HARARE, Zimbabwe — The government has placed restrictions on reporters working in the troubled southwestern province of Matabeleland.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government said Friday that all journalists were forbidden to report about violence in the area.

The area has been the center of violence by supporters of the opposition leader, Joshua Nkomo, and by the army. The press has widely covered charges by aid groups that the army has killed 2,000 civilians.

constituents in northern Japan want him right where he is, a point no one is prepared to argue.

Mr. Tanaka is a man of considerable magnetism and political astuteness, a skillful dispenser of money and patronage. In that way, he controls the largest of the five factions of political conservatives that constitute the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

Guilty verdict notwithstanding, no politician is more powerful than Mr. Tanaka, and even an incumbent prime minister trembles lightly around him. But seeing an issue of political ethics, the Socialist-led opposition has refused to participate in parliamentary sessions unless a resolution calling for Mr. Tanaka's ouster is debated first. The Liberal Democrats have refused.

For Mr. Nakasone, the deadlock has touched off public grumbling about his leadership skills. On Oct. 28, he met privately with Mr. Tanaka, but said later only that he had offered "advice," a remark so cryptic it baffled even politicians inured to encoded phraseology. They wanted to know more, to satisfy themselves that Mr. Nakasone had discharged his responsibilities.

So last week Mr. Nakasone explained to other party leaders that while he had not explicitly urged resignation, Mr. Tanaka should have got the idea. Midway through his explanation, Mr. Nakasone pulled out a handkerchief to dab at tears, according to people who were present. No one could recall a similar display by a prime minister.

By week's end, the Liberal Democrats had decided that, tears and all, they had shown their sincerity in trying to end the impasse. Sincerity was enough to persuade the ruling party to call the Diet back into session, perhaps early next week, to pass a \$5-billion tax cut.

The hope was that the opposition would be unable to sit by idly while a vote-raising measure of this sort was introduced. But the Socialists and the others appear to be holding firmly to the boycott.



Rescuers helped a wounded man at the Martyr's Mausoleum in Rangoon, Burma, Oct. 9 after a bomb explosion that killed four South Korean ministers. This photograph was taken from previously unshown film screened by Japan's NHK television network Saturday.

## North Korea Says Peace Is Endangered By Burma's Move to Cut Off Relations

By Clyde Haberman

New York Times Service

TOKYO — North Korea has dismissed as "sheer fabrication" an official Burmese finding that it was responsible for the Oct. 9 bombing in Rangoon that killed 21 persons, including 17 high-ranking South Korean officials.

The Pyongyang government said Saturday that it was "unjustifiable" for Burma to sever diplomatic ties and to order North Korean Embassy officials to leave by Sunday.

Breaking off relations was "a dangerous act seriously endangering peace in Asia and the world," the North Korean Foreign Ministry said in a statement carried by the official Central News Agency and monitored in Tokyo.

The statement and new South Korean denunciations of North Korea increased tensions on the Korean peninsula. They were already extremely high.

South Korean officials have said that they fear a North Korean plot against President Ronald Reagan when he visits Seoul next weekend after a three-day trip to Japan. The South Korean armed forces were put on full alert Saturday, although that did not appear to be accompanied by any significant change in military actions.

On Friday, the Burmese government announced that its investigators had determined that two men captured and another one killed a few days after the bombing were North Korean commandos.

The finding, according to the announcement, was based on material discovered at the explosion site and on the three men, and on confessions made by the two survivors. The blast occurred at the Martyr's Mausoleum in Rangoon as South Korean officials gathered for a wreath-laying ceremony. Among those killed were four government ministers and two close personal

aides to the South Korean president, Chun Doo Hwan, who had just begun a trip to six Asian nations.

Mr. Chun was the apparent target, but he escaped harm because he was several minutes late arriving at the ceremony.

### Japan Curtails Ties

Japan will curtail future private exchanges with North Korea following Burma's decision to break ties with Pyongyang for its alleged involvement in the terrorist bombing in Rangoon, United Press International reported from Tokyo on Saturday, quoting a government spokesman.

Tokyo has no diplomatic relations with North Korea and is likely to curtail nongovernmental exchanges in culture and trade.

On Friday, Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe said Japan contemplated "severe" moves against North Korea.

## U.S. Calls Off Search for Wreckage, Flight Recording Boxes of Korean Jet

By B. Drummond Ayres Jr.

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The search has been called off for wreckage of the Korean Air Lines 747 shot down over the Sea of Japan on Sept. 1 by a Soviet fighter plane with the loss of 269 lives, the Defense Department has announced.

The search, conducted by U.S. and Japanese ships trailing bottom-scanning devices, was aimed

mainly at recovering the airliner's flight recording boxes. But the only thing turned up was a cooking pot lost long ago by a ship.

"We've looked everywhere we think it might be and we haven't found a thing," a Pentagon spokesman said Saturday. "Maybe it's lying within Russian waters. But that's another thing. They won't let us in."

The searchers were hampered from the start by bad weather and

the mountainous nature of the sea bottom. Soviet ships scissored the search area, conducting their own hunt but also intent, it appeared, on disrupting the U.S.-Japanese effort.

The officials said repeated protests to the Soviet authorities about such incidents had been ignored. The Soviet Union also refused repeated requests from the U.S. and Japanese governments for permission to search a section of sea bot-

tom lying within Soviet territory. Some Soviet ships were reported by U.S. Navy officials to be still conducting search operations.

The American and Japanese searchers had hoped that by salvaging the recording boxes, which keep a running record of flight movements and tape cockpit voice transmissions, definitive answers could be obtained as to why the South Korean plane strayed.

The Soviet Union has main-

tained that the 747, KAL Flight 007, was on a spying mission, aided and abetted by U.S. intelligence agencies. The South Korean and U.S. governments have vehemently denied that assertion, maintaining the plane was on a routine flight from Alaska to South Korea.

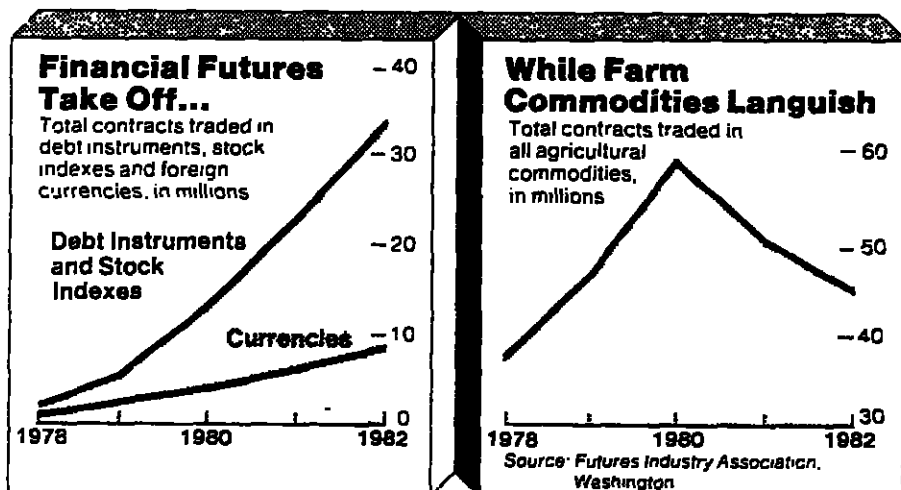
Immediately after the airliner went down, search ships found a few pieces of wreckage floating on the surface. Some wreckage and several bodies were also recovered

from Japanese beaches lying south of the crash site.

On Sept. 26, the Soviet Union turned over a crate of debris, which included clothing and documents, to Japan.

U.S. and Japanese ships concentrated on a 150-square-mile (388-square-kilometer) section of rugged sea bottom centered about 25 miles (40 kilometers) northwest of Moneron Island, off southwest Sakhalin.

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Winter After the Bomb

Even a limited exchange of nuclear weapons will so blot out the sun with smoke and soot, a group of scientists asserted last week, that life for the survivors will be almost impossible in the ensuing dark and cold. ... Paramount Pictures has just released "The Day After," a movie about life after the Bomb. ... In two weeks, ABC will broadcast "The Day After," a movie about a typical American city following a nuclear strike.

Why this deluge of re-stating the obvious? Doesn't everyone know by now that nuclear disaster is hazardous to human health? Surely every sensible person everywhere believes preventing it is the world's most important cause. The hard question is how, and the settled, if crude, answer is nuclear deterrence. Deterrence works because it is based on horror. What different policy is desired by those who now agonize about the extent of the horror? There is no visible alternative to deterrence, no matter how ghastly the ways nuclear war would kill.

Yet there is one justification for the rush of profiles in apocalypse: some people's persistent conviction that some nuclear war would not kill everyone, that some nuclear war is survivable, even winnable. Cavalier statements from the Reagan administration about fighting nuclear war are in part to blame. For instance, officials once took a noisy interest in civil defense with shovels. But such ideas hide an important issue, one raised by the scientists who are predicting nuclear winter: Perhaps relatively few nuclear explosions are needed to trigger terminal effects.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

The academy concluded that such an exchange would have no more effect on climate than the eruptions of large volcanoes, which inject similar amounts of dust into the high atmosphere. "At most, a 0.5-degree Celsius deviation from the average, lasting for a few years, might be expected." The consensus now emerging is that ground temperatures would drop well below freezing. Why the change?

Because until last year, no one thought about soot. It is no secret that Hiroshima and Nagasaki burned, yet scientists calculating climatic effects thought only of the dust from pulverized rocks and buildings, not of the soot and ash caused by fire. Being more absorbent, these particles block far more sunlight.

The scientists who spoke last week were describing a study that has not yet been published or properly checked. Nonetheless, their conjectures seem in line with parallel studies, including a second effort by the National Academy of Sciences.

The conjectures suggest that an exchange involving only 100 megatons could cause catastrophic changes in climate if it incinerated 100 cities. The sun would be almost totally blotted out through at least the Northern Hemisphere, land and water would freeze, only narrow strips along the coastlines would be habitable and those would be ravaged by violent storms.

From such studies, some threshold megatonnage may be definable above which climatic disaster is likely. Such a figure should temper the casual talk of nuclear war-fighting capability. And while scientists argue about soot and sunlight, the public may wonder what other effects of nuclear war have not yet been taken into account. Defining degrees of destruction is not an empty exercise so long as there are those in the United States or the Soviet Union who believe there is any point in ever risking nuclear war.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## The Vote in South Africa

It is easy to dismiss South Africa's constitutional referendum as a fraud. It is, after all, fraudulent. Only the whites, who number 4.6 million, were invited to vote on granting a limited and ambiguous role in national affairs to the coloreds (2.8 million) and Indians (850,000). Not only were blacks (21 million) not consulted, they stand to gain nothing from the new dispensation. There were solid grounds for concluding that the referendum was simply an exercise designed to buy off the coloreds, or people of mixed race, and the Indians with trivial baubles, while blocking the way to any promise of rights for the blacks.

Is it not interesting, then, that so many white South Africans evidently have had difficulty coming to that seemingly incontrovertible conclusion? The vote for the proposal (among, to repeat, whites only) was an overwhelming 2 to 1. But if some part of the impulse of approval was to entrench the ruling minority's apartheid doctrine, another unmistakable part was to experiment with political change. The ambivalence that is a marked quality among many South African whites makes it impossible to assign fixed proportions to these two elements.

The vote against the new constitution, moreover, reflected two very different tendencies. One was a rejection of the proposal by a good number — not all — of the liberals. The other

was a rejection by conservatives who argued that it was the first dangerous slide down the slippery slope leading to black majority rule.

The Reagan administration, which has not had much to show for its policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa, reacted quickly and positively. The State Department pronounced the vote a mandate for Pretoria to move "decisively" along the way to "constructive, evolutionary change toward a system based on consent of all of South Africa's citizens." These careful nudging words themselves exemplified the approach of constructive engagement. Those already skeptical of it could not but find the words pitifully barren of the passion and anguish they feel as they contemplate the system of institutionalized racism that is apartheid.

Will the South African government take the vote as a mandate for further change — for what might better be called real change, change granting genuine political rights to all South Africans? The only thing more foolish than giving Pretoria credit for something it has not yet done would be to rule out all possibility that the new constitution can yet make some contribution to the cause. There are too few openings for peaceful change under apartheid for even the meanness of them to be neglected.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Other Opinion

### Toward Democracy on Grenada

Reports from Grenada indicate no serious security problems. As these things go, the American invasion (or rescue operation, if you prefer Washington's appellation) has run very smoothly indeed so far.

To manage the creation of a democratic society in Grenada may be a much more difficult task. It will become harder still if the U.S. administration were to foist on the Grenadians a government of Washington's toadies. The last thing Grenada needs is one of those right-wing authoritarian Mr. Jeane Kirkpatrick is so fond of.

This is where Sir Paul Scoon can play a decisive part. He has denied any intention of planning an American nominee in power. Rather, he seems inclined to form a government of technocrats who will run the country while an electoral roll is prepared and political parties formed. This will take at least six months, more likely a year. Then an election will be held, and Sir Paul has made it clear that any remnants of the New Jewel Movement, as it existed before the assassination of Maurice Bishop, will be permitted to stand. In this he is absolutely right and deserves support.

—The Observer (London).

### Easing U.S.-European Tension

The United States has agreed to compensate the European Community to cover at least some of the damage done by tariffs and quotas imposed by Washington last summer on specialty-steel imports. This could be a precedent for settling in a positive way the other area of nasty contention between the United States and the Common Market, agriculture, which is of enormous consequence to both parties.

—The Los Angeles Times

### Our Hungry Children

The child in Pakistan might not be facing the starvation death which is the lot of a number of children in some other Third World countries. But malnutrition is a very serious problem here. According to one estimate, 600,000 children die of malnutrition every year in Pakistan. Although all deaths might not be directly attributed to poor nourishment, many children who are not properly fed cannot stand the rigors of childhood diseases, because of lowered resistance. It is important that the question of child health and nutrition are tackled on a community basis with the active support of the government.

—Down (Karachi, Pakistan).

# U.S.-Soviet Relations: Ominous Signs of Deterioration

By Raymond L. Garthoff

This is the first of two parts.  
WASHINGTON — I have just returned from a two-week visit to the Soviet Union where I talked with a wide variety of officials and ordinary people. I had some frank and revealing exchanges. The impressions I brought home are ominous. Americans may soon be seeing off their coast Soviet submarines and perhaps surface ships armed with new nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. The Russians may also use submarines to deploy "depressed trajectory" ballistic missiles that can reach U.S. targets in a few minutes. There will also be new deployments of Soviet rockets in Europe, probably including ground-launched cruise missiles to match those the United States plans to deploy starting next month. This escalating deployment of weapons is one reflection of the deteriorating relationship between Moscow and Washington. These new deployments do not mean that the Russians will be looking for opportunities to use their weapons, but that is not the only danger.

The principal risk lies not in the

possibility that the leadership in Moscow or Washington will intentionally challenge its adversary. The greater danger will come from the reactions of both superpowers to unpredictable new situations or crises triggered by events beyond their control. The deterioration of relations has reduced still further the thin margin of restraint that cushions the reactions of both powers.

The level of anxiety in both Washington and Moscow is remarkably high, and remarkably similar. My recent visit, which included conversations with senior political and military officials, convinced me that, if anything, the Russians are feeling more anxiety than are President Reagan and his colleagues.

In part because of the isolation of Soviet society, the decline in Soviet-American relations has a deep resonance among ordinary citizens. The local Communist Party chief in a remote agricultural region I visited — a man of little knowledge of and no experience in international affairs,

who told me I was his first Western visitor — offered one vivid example. After a local meeting organized to discuss the extraordinary Sept. 28 statement on Soviet-American relations by President Yuri Andropov, he said, several local women came to him in tears to ask if war with the United States was inevitable, and if their sons would have to die. I heard other such indications of concern.

The downing of the South Korean airliner has underlined the decline in relations. A number of Soviet officials said privately that the entire incident might never have occurred, or at least might have been handled differently, if relations had not already been so tense. This is not to say they disputed the official Soviet version of what happened. Virtually all Soviet citizens seem to believe that the airplane was on an American intelligence mission. But several said the United States might not have been prepared to take the risks involved in such an action were it not for the intensity of the military com-

petition, and added that Soviet air defense personnel might not have been so intent upon demonstrating their "vigilance."

Soviet officials and some citizens expressed real regret over the loss of life. But one ordinary citizen remarked (without knowing I was an American): "It's about time we showed the Americans that we won't put up with this kind of thing."

The Korean airplane incident illustrates the profound differences in perception between the two countries, and it demonstrates grimly that both sides are now quick to assume the worst of the other.

Still ahead of us is the deployment of new NATO missiles in Europe — and the Soviet response to that deployment.

Based on my discussion with senior Soviet officials, I conclude that the Soviet Union will indeed soon end its participation in the intermediate-range Nuclear Forces arms limitation talks in Geneva as a reaction to the actual deployment. Recent

public statements by Soviet officials have belatedly led to speculation here on a possible Soviet walkout or temporary suspension of the talks, but I believe the Soviet view is that the negotiations will have failed and will not be resumed.

Indeed, I was told that the Soviet position in the START talks on strategic arms limitation and reduction will be revised to include intermediate-range weapons — the British and French systems, as well as the American Pershing-2s and cruise missiles whose deployment begins in December. While there has been a growing sentiment in the West that at some stage the two sets of Geneva negotiations — one on intermediate, the other on long-range weapons — probably should merge, a unilateral wedding of the two by the Russians is sure to prompt U.S. objections.

The Soviet leaders understand that they will be criticized for ending the talks on medium-range missiles. But they refuse to continue talking if it means acknowledging, even tacitly, that some new U.S. deployment was justified, or that the West had a right not to take British and French missiles and bombers into account.

Mr. Andropov offered on Oct. 26 to reduce Soviet intermediate-range missiles facing Europe from 450 to about 140 modern SS-20s, and also to freeze the current level of Soviet deployment of such systems in Asia — but only if there were no American deployments in December.

This offer seems genuine, but Soviet leaders do not expect the United States and NATO to accept it. So they will break off the talks, continue to seek a curtailment of the American deployment — and begin new deployments aimed at both Western Europe and the United States.

The Russians have long promised to match any new American deployment. General Nikolai Chervov of the General Staff told me that this will involve "new systems" — not merely adding more SS-20s — and will aim to place the United States itself increasingly under the "10-minute threat" which he stated the Pershing-2 missiles will pose to Moscow.

(Though the published American figure for the range of the Pershing-2 is about 1,100 miles (1,780 kilometers), the Soviet General Staff estimates it at about 1,500 miles, and the difference is crucial. With a 1,500-mile range, Pershing-2s in West Germany could reach Moscow and the central Soviet military command complexes in and around the capital.)

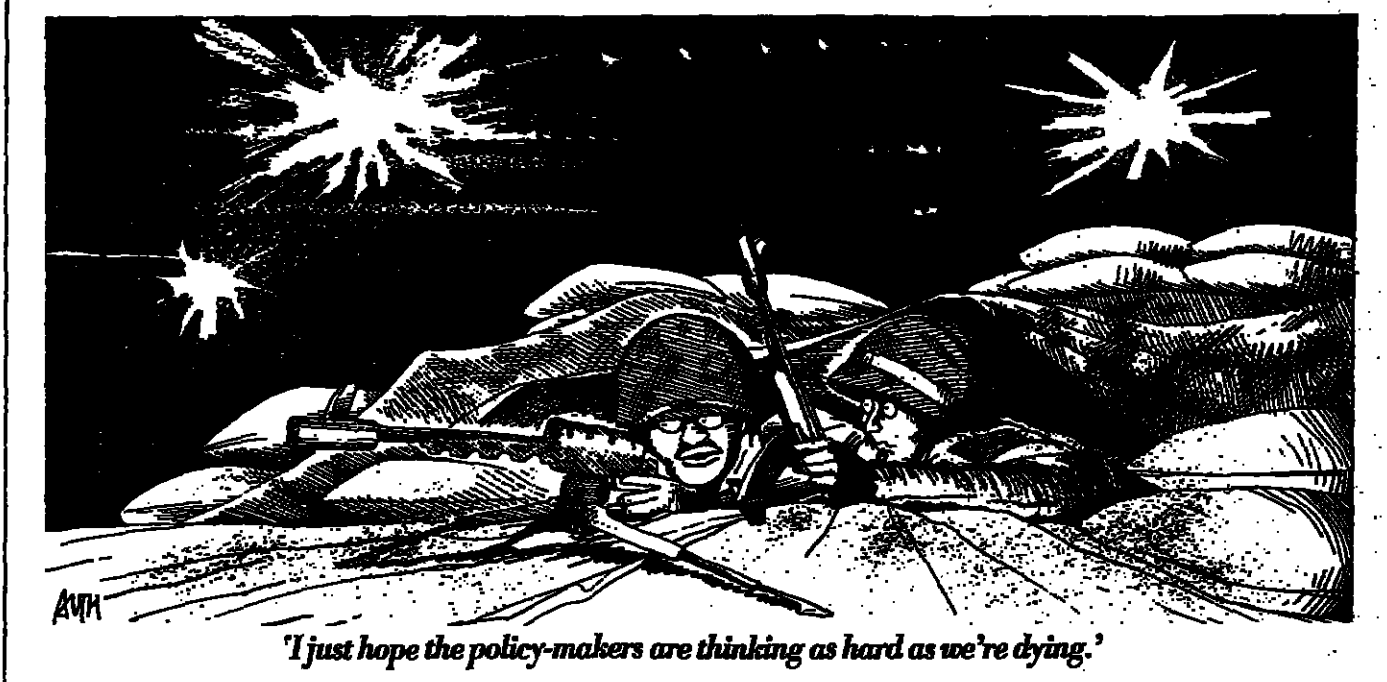
My interlocutors would not specify what those "new systems" would be. But my discussions with General Chervov (whose discussion is responsible among other things for the arms limitation negotiations) and other Soviet and Communist Party officials left me with the strong impression that the Soviet Union will deploy new strategic nuclear cruise missiles on submarines and perhaps on surface ships within range of the United States. Moscow may also deploy depressed-trajectory submarine-launched ballistic missile systems.

In Europe, in addition to probably having new ballistic missiles in Czechoslovakia and East Germany, the Russians probably will deploy ground-launched cruise missiles similar to those the United States plans to deploy. The authoritative Soviet officials I saw did, however, rule out any attempt to station offensive weapons in Cuba or Nicaragua.

The idea that Soviet statements on such military countermeasures are merely a "war of nerves," or refer only to systems already set for deployment, is almost certainly wrong.

So, too, is the view long expressed by the Reagan administration (and reiterated recently as a few weeks ago by Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger) that only when American deployment begins will the Russians be ready to negotiate seriously. In fact, the start of U.S. deployment will mark the end, not the beginning, of the negotiations on intermediate-range missile systems. The contention that actual deployment will force the Russians to make new concessions, thus furthering a negotiated agreement, is an illusion — either one, the administration believes, or one it has propagated to smooth the deployment of the new U.S. weapons.

The writer, a Russian-speaking retired Foreign Service officer who served as American ambassador to Bulgaria, is a senior fellow at The Brookings Institution. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.



## The U.S. Does Have Other Options in the Caribbean

By Abraham F. Lowenthal

LOS ANGELES — In the intense debate about the invasion of Grenada, the larger, fundamental question may be overlooked: How should the United States respond to the emergence of radical, potentially hostile political movements in the Caribbean Basin?

The classic U.S. stance has been a "Hallmark policy" (as in the American greeting-card company). Every once in a while, the United States cares enough about one of its neighbors to send its "very best" — the Marines. In between, Washington has mainly ignored the area. But there are other options.

One approach is the attempt to co-opt revolutionary change. The Carter administration at first offered symbolic sympathy to radical movements, in the hope that they would abandon any challenge to U.S. hegemony. That approach underestimates the ideological fervor of revolution-

ary movements and the intensity of their desire to feel autonomous, especially in relation to the United States. And because U.S. policy leaders are so nervous about losing control of the border region, nationalist rhetoric and policy by neighbor nations is not long tolerated by Washington. The Carter administration ultimately became hostile to radical change.

A second approach, pursued by the Reagan administration until the Grenada invasion, is that of restrained hostility toward revolutionary movements. This administration has sought to make it clear that the United States would reward Caribbean Basin nations that oppose Cuba and shun socialism, and would find ways to punish left-leaning movements.

This policy, epitomized in the Reagan Caribbean Basin Initiative, no doubt has affected the choices of

poor mini-states. But the resources that Washington can offer major Caribbean Basin nations under current legislation are not enough to change the region's politics. The Reagan approach has become one of deepening U.S. entanglement without creating the means of forging new paths out.

Suggestions for a new "Marshall Plan," reportedly favored by the Kissinger Commission on Central America, ignore the profound differences between rebuilding a war-ravaged economy and attempting to force development in the midst of civil war.

A third approach is more like a "Marshall Plan" — reliance on U.S. force. One cannot help but wonder whether the U.S. military maneuvers near Nicaragua will be followed soon by direct U.S. intervention there. The possibility has been raised by Fred C. Ikle, the U.S. undersecretary of de-

fense, who in September suggested that U.S. combat troops may have to establish a "front line of the East-West conflict right here on our continent." It would be useful if the president's foreign-policy advisers were briefed on the actions of their predecessors; it took years for the United States to bring its boys home from earlier excursions into the Caribbean and Central America.

There is a fourth approach that the United States could adopt, one based not on national insecurity or imposition but on self-confident cooperation with the area's people. This approach, a long-term U.S. commitment to development, would concern itself more with economic growth and long-term political stability than with immediate Cold War loyalty. It would commit the United States to sustained cooperation with all governments in the area, including nationalist and revolutionary regimes, that are willing to cooperate on basic social and economic issues.

The core U.S. security objective is to prevent the introduction into the Caribbean Basin of threatening bases or facilities. That can and should be dealt with directly. The U.S.-Soviet accords on Cuba, drafted as a result of the 1962 missile crisis, provide a model for arrangements that could protect U.S. security without involving the United States in the internal politics of this turbulent region. The United States will have to learn that Cuba has little beyond plan to offer the Caribbean. The United States has all the cards — capital, markets, technology, jobs. The challenge in the Caribbean Basin can be met.

The writer is on leave from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. He contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.

## Seaga Fights Mood of Despair in Jamaica

By Jonathan Power

KINGSTON, Jamaica — Momentarily, the events in Grenada have quieted the economic debate in this Caribbean country. Probably not for long. Jamaica, called a "blueprint island" by The Economist of London, is still on trial. Its prime minister, Edward Seaga, is convinced that Jamaica's return to capitalism from the socialism of Michael Manley will restore Jamaican vitality.

Watched over by his mentor, Ronald Reagan, Mr. Seaga still exhibits that sense of determination and mastery over economic detail that enabled him to win the general election by a landslide three years ago. He has a thousand balls in the air, trying every kind of economic enterprise and financial incentive to lift the Jamaican economy off its beam end.

For all that, the light of Jamaican progress appears only intermittently at the end of the tunnel. Mr. Seaga boldly about the recovery of bauxite production, about the great leap in tourism, and about new far-reaching schemes to revitalize agriculture. But, out in the street, the tone is more subdued.

This is a country of deflated expectations. A taxi driver growled, "We don't want half a loaf." "I waited in vain for the cliché line, 'We want it all.' Instead there was a subdued, 'We just want a slice.'"

The Jamaican Gleaner reported a speech by R. Danny Williams, executive vice chairman of the Life of Jamaica Insurance Co., given at the Wanky Pagan Hotel. "The country is in a very great danger," he said, "of falling into a national mood of discontent and despair."

Mr. Seaga has not been able to free his nation's economy from the deadening grip of an inert bureaucracy. His efforts, however, have at least stopped the economy's frightening decline. By the time Mr. Manley was defeated at the polls, Jamaica was in its eighth consecutive year of economic contraction.

But stopping the decline is not enough. Jamaicans want more. They are too close to the world outside to accept that progress must be so slow. Every wealthy tourist is a two-edged sword — one edge sharpens the chances of recovery, the other deepens the sense of deprivation.

Jamaica has tried two paths toward advancement and found them wanting. The first — inspired by Mr. Manley's socialist banner and Bob Mar-

ley's reggae music — was to be proudly independent, to tell outside entrepreneurs to concede to Jamaican terms or to bother.

The second, engineered by Mr. Seaga with help from the White House and Wall Street, has been to present Jamaica as part of the new economic frontier, sort of a Western answer to Singapore or Hong Kong.

Yet both experiments have rubbed home the message that Jamaica is too much a part of the outside world to dictate its own terms. It cannot afford to strike out on its own, as under Mr. Manley. But, tied to the West, it will not move far until the West's economic recovery is well under way.

When George Bush, the U.S. vice president, came for a visit, Mr. Seaga confided that he was proud of having persuaded Mr. Bush to call Washington that night to try to hurry along one of Jamaica's national causes — the pardoning of Marcus Garvey, the militant Jamaica-born American black leader of the 1920s who died in ignominy after being convicted of embezzlement.

Mr. Seaga, in short, realizes that Jamaica has little economic independence but does have its own cultural identity. Somehow the latter, in Jamaican minds, must become an adequate substitute for the former. But Mr. Seaga is battling against the clock. And if he fails, Mr. Manley almost surely will charge back.

International Herald Tribune

## Letter From Paris: Refiguring Euromissile Math

From François de Rose

In "An Outsider's Sense of Euromissile Math" (IHT, Oct. 21), Onkar Marwah argues that the Americans, the British and the French are wrong not to accept the Soviet views in the negotiations on Euromissiles.

He argues that there is no need for these missiles in Western Europe, since no new U.S. missiles were deployed in the years since the United States withdrew its Jupiter system from Turkey. As a quid pro quo for the removal of Soviet SS-4s and -5s from Cuba in 1962, "He seems to find it natural that the Soviet Union could threaten Western Europe with hundreds of nuclear weapons. But intolerable that U.S. Pershing-2 missiles capable of reaching a few hundred miles inside the Soviet Union should be stationed in Europe."

The political formula here is all too clear. Without belaboring the fact that the SS-20 poses quite a different threat from that of the previous generation of rockets, since it is capable of anti-force operations designed to paralyze NATO's defense, let us remind Mr. Marwah that in the early '60s, the linkage between Europe and the U.S. strategic system was ensured by medium-range bombers capable of reaching targets in the Soviet Union from their European bases. Soviet negotiators at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks made every effort to have these forward-based systems included in the American total. But now that the capacity of piloted aircraft to penetrate Soviet airspace has been reduced by progress in anti-air defenses, Moscow is no longer bothered by these planes.

The problem with deterrence in Europe is that, for it to work, the aggressor must be exposed to intolerable damage in a counterattack. Such destruction can only be inflicted by nuclear weapons, and Euromissiles are the only system that can present such a risk to the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union were attacked by U.S. missiles, even in the context of the defense of Europe, the Russians would have to reply with intercontinental weapons fired at American territory, which might lead to all-out warfare. The Soviet defense minister, Dmitri Ustinov, has made clear that this is the case. But a counterattack against American targets would not seem to be a Kremlin option following an attack by French or British nuclear forces (which, in any case, are neither meant for, nor fit for, operations against military objectives). Thus, Moscow has expressed a readiness to reduce its SS-20s to the total of the strategic forces of these two nations — or even lower. It would not be too expensive a price to pay to decouple the defenses of the U.S. and European allies.

As far as including French and British missiles in arms-reduction talks, both governments have said they could agree to that inclusion if and when, among other conditions, their numbers became significant in relation with those of the superpowers — that is, if the superpowers' forces were reduced to the point that the number of French and British missiles presented a destabilizing potential. In that case it would be necessary to include in the accounting the shorter-range, but also destructive, Soviet weapons.

Mr. Marwah also repeats the Soviet contention about the flight time of missiles on both sides — that the West would have a strategic advantage because Pershing-2 missiles placed in West Germany could hit Soviet military and industrial targets in five to eight minutes. He argues that the Pershings could put out of commission the Red Army's command and communications facilities before the Russians could react. But similar Western facilities could be destroyed in even shorter time by SS-21s, SS-23s and SS-24s, stationed in East Germany or Czechoslovakia, or even Poland.

And if, in Mr. Marwah's mind, the time factor is so important, why does he favor the "walk in the woods" formula, which would leave the Soviet Union with 75 ballistic missiles and the West with the same number of cruise missiles, when the Soviet missiles would take 12 to 18 minutes to reach their targets while the cruises would require hours to retaliate — if they survived?

What is at stake is whether we are allowed to have, for the defense of Europe, the weapons we deem necessary or only those the Kremlin is willing to let us deploy. If the second option were to prevail, Europe would be well on the way to becoming politically what it is geographically — a small peninsula at the Western end of the gigantic Soviet empire.

The writer is a former French ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

More Letters, Page 7.

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مكتبة الأمل



## Pope, in Letter, Praises Luther; Will Preach in Lutheran Church

By Henry Kamm  
New York Times Service

ROME — Pope John Paul II has praised Martin Luther, the father of the Reformation, saying the world is still "experiencing his great impact on history."

His comments were contained in a letter to the president of the Pontifical Secretariat for the Union of Christians, Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, to mark the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth. The text of the letter was made public by the Vatican on Saturday, five days before the anniversary.

In a related development, Christoph Meyer, dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Rome, announced that John Paul would preach in the church on Dec. 11. The service and the pope's sermon will be in German.

The letter from the pope to Cardinal Willebrands was dated Oct. 31, 1983, the anniversary of the day in 1517 when Luther nailed his theses on the door of the Cathedral of Wittenberg, giving birth to the Reformation. The pope wrote the letter in German, Luther's language, although Cardinal Willebrands is a Dutchman.

The pope referred to Luther, who was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church, as the theologian who "contributed in a

substantial way to the radical change in the ecclesial and social reality of the West." He continued: "Our world is still today experiencing his great impact on history."

Roman Catholic and Protestant studies have yielded a more balanced picture of Luther's personality and the realities of the 16th century, the pope continued, and shown that "the rupture in church unity cannot be reduced either to the mere lack of comprehension on the part of the authorities of the Catholic Church nor solely to the limited comprehension of true catholicism on the part of Luther, even if both these matters played their part."

The pope called for continued historical research, "without prejudices," to provide "a just image" of Luther and the Reformation. "Guilt, wherever it exists, must be recognized, on whichever side it is found," the pope wrote.

John Paul called on Cardinal Willebrands to continue the ecumenical dialogue in quest of restoration of Christian unity and offered a special prayer and blessing for this work.

Dean Meyer said that the pope's visit had been arranged more than a year ago, when John Paul paid a Sunday afternoon call to the Roman Catholic parish in which the Lutheran church is situated. The Catholic authorities invited Dean Meyer and the board members of his congregation to attend the service for the pope.

To Dean Meyer's surprise, one of the board members approached John Paul and asked him whether he would participate in a Lutheran service during the anniversary. Dean Meyer recalled Saturday that he was even more surprised when the pope answered, "Yes."

In announcing the event Saturday night, a press agency of the Italian Evangelical churches said that before the pope's participation in the Lutheran service, the Lutheran community of Rome would publish a statement that to receive the pope in its church did not mean recognition of papal authority over the Lutheran Church.

Dean Meyer said that he did not know the contents of the pope's sermon but said it was reasonable to expect that it would contain a statement on Luther.

## New Alliance of Leftists Draws Support in Manila

By Robert Trumbull  
New York Times Service

MANILA — A new leftist opposition party with strong anti-American overtones has filed a 35,000-seat boxing arena in its first formal gathering.

The new organization, called the Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy, is headed by Lorenzo Tanada, 84, the elder statesman of the opposition to the government of President Ferdinand E. Marcos. It brings together many small nationalist groups from throughout the country that advocate the expulsion of U.S. military bases, curbs on multinational companies and other causes of the political left.

Officials described the meeting Saturday as the biggest political turnout in the Philippines since the two memorial services for the opposition leader, Benigno S. Aquino Jr., whose assassination Aug. 21 triggered a succession of public demonstrations against President Marcos.

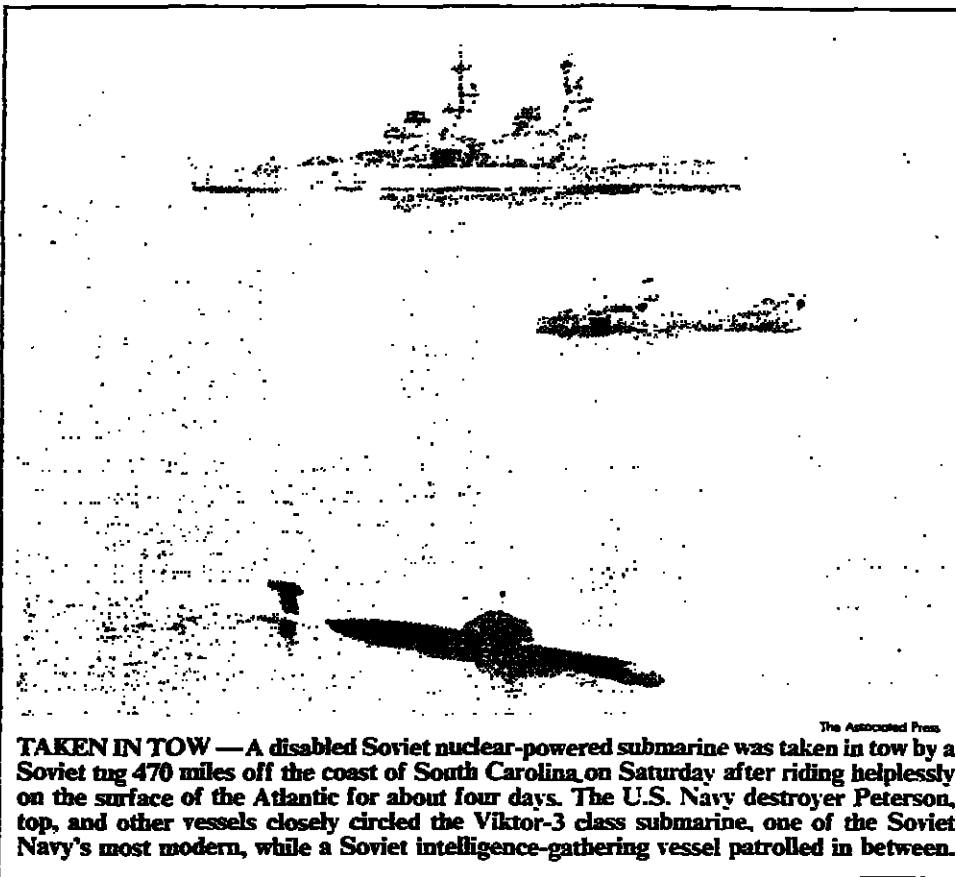
The principal target of Mr. Tanada and other speakers at the rally was what they called the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship." The organizers of the new group, which could develop into a significant force if the crowd at its inaugural meeting was any indication of its strength, described it as a nonviolent alternative to the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines.

Sections of the crowd interrupted speeches with cheers for the jailed former leader of the Philippine Communist Party, Jose Maria Sison. Among those attending were many student leaders, unionists, representatives of tribal communities and academics.

As a coalition of leftist opponents of Mr. Marcos, the gathering represented a potentially important new division in the already fragmented opposition forces. The Nationalist Alliance, as it is called for short, has failed to draw in the more moderate opposition groups such as the United Nationalist Democratic Organization, a combination of 12 parties headed by Salvador P. Laurel, a former senator.

### Woman Slain at U.S. Tavern

NASHVILLE, Tennessee — A woman died and five persons were injured Saturday when gunmen fired repeatedly through the windows of a suburban tavern, police said Sunday. They had no comment on a possible motive.



TAKEN IN TOW — A disabled Soviet nuclear-powered submarine was taken in tow by a Soviet tug 470 miles off the coast of South Carolina on Saturday after riding helplessly on the surface of the Atlantic for about four days. The U.S. Navy destroyer Peterson, top, and other vessels closely circled the Victor-3 class submarine, one of the Soviet Navy's most modern, while a Soviet intelligence-gathering vessel patrolled in between.

## Reagan Praises Veterans and Pledges Continuing Action on Vietnam MLAs

By Spencer Rich  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan has paid tribute to U.S. military veterans in his weekly radio address and has pledged anew "to obtain the fullest possible accounting for our Americans missing in southeast Asia."

Speaking Saturday from Camp David, Maryland, Mr. Reagan focused on U.S. veterans in recognition of Veterans' Day, which will be celebrated Friday, when he is scheduled to be on a tour of Japan and South Korea.

"Our most recent heroes, those still serving and those who have just come back from Beirut and Grenada, carried on with the same dedication and valor as their colleagues before them," he said.

Mr. Reagan hinted that some of the 2,490 listed as missing in the Vietnam War might be alive, when he said, "The sacrifices they made and may still be making, and the uncertainty their families endure, trouble us all. We must not rest until we know their fate."

In a Democratic response, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat of New York, said that while service personnel had sacrificed much in Lebanon and Grenada, the Reagan administration had shown nothing of the same "discipline and duty" in handling the nation's fiscal affairs.

Instead, Mr. Moynihan said, "the present administration has piled up the debt of the federal government at a rate without precedent in history."

The national debt, which was \$931 billion when Mr. Reagan took office in January 1981, was \$1,388 billion as of Tuesday, he said.

Aides to the president said Saturday that as of late Friday, at least 300 of the 600 U.S. medical students who were evacuated from a U.S.-run school in Grenada had accepted an invitation by Mr. Reagan to meet him at the White House Monday. About 40 military personnel who participated in the Grenada operation will also be present.

Meanwhile, the White House announced that Mr. Reagan late Friday signed a bill providing \$7.9 billion for the Interior Department. The bill bars offshore oil and natural gas leasing along the southern California and New England coasts for one year, limits leasing of coal reserves and restricts oil and gas leasing off the coast of Florida. It also prohibits drilling in federal wilderness areas.

### U.S. Announces Jet Sale to Turkey

WASHINGTON — The Pentagon has notified Congress of the intent to sell Turkey 160 F-16 fighters during the next 10 years in a \$4.1-billion weapons agreement.

The long-expected announcement, made Friday, occurred two weeks after Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger met at the Pentagon with Defense Minister Halut Bayrakten of Turkey. Turkey, a member of NATO, announced in September its decision to purchase and eventually manufacture the planes, made by the General Dynamics Corp. of Fort Worth, Texas.

Congress has 30 days in which to disapprove of the sale.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### The KGB Connection

Regarding "Terrorism Grows More Lethal and Widespread, but Rarely Succeeds" (IHT, Nov. 2) by David Lamb:

In his 2,000-word piece on international terrorism, Mr. Lamb manages to avoid any mention of Chaire Sterling's book "The Terror Network" and the latest scholarly study on the subject, "Terrorism: The Soviet Connection," by Ray S. Cline and Yomah Alexander of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. Since Mr. Lamb went out of his way to play down the Soviet connection, I cannot help but wonder whether this isn't yet another example of the suppression of inconvenient facts. Mr. Cline and Mr. Alexander, both recognized authorities on terrorism, have produced not one smoking gun on the Soviet KGB connection, but dozens of them.

Le Monde, a respected liberal voice in France, published a series of articles on terrorism a few months ago in which it mentioned a terrorist training camp near Damascus that specializes in truck and car-bomb explosions. The instructors were Bulgarian operatives and the camp itself is run by the Syrian secret service, which is supervised by Rifaat al-Assad, the brother of the Syrian president. The Bulgarian secret service, the DS, is a branch of the Soviet KGB.

ARNAUD DE BORCHGRAVE, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington.

### 'White House Wars'

It would appear that President Reagan is flagrantly interposing the military forces of the United States on so many different war fronts as to not only make his reelection seem mandatory, but further, to make any reasonable and constructive foreign policy challenges from more responsible candidates — those with greater re-

spect for peace — appear to be less than patriotic.

Even as we await the president's official announcement of candidacy, we are witnessing the bloodiest election campaign in memory. One wonders how many more lives will be lost before November 1984, and how soon thereafter these senseless "White House Wars" will end.

JOEL TED MISKIN, Zurich.

Congratulations! Vietnam was no success — Grenada was.

FINN LIE, Oslo, Norway.

American leaders have long warned the world about the threat posed by the Cuban presence on Grenada. Now they say they were surprised by the number of Cubans on the island and the intensity of their resistance. Evidently, the Americans did not believe their own propaganda. Why then should anyone else?

CARROLL DORGAN, St-Germain-en-Laye, France.

When you live in a neighborhood populated by thugs, murderers and deviates, you sometimes have to use force, albeit judiciously, to protect yourself and your loved ones. The alternative is to stick your nose in the Bible, Carter-like, and pretend the world is full of roses and misguided misanthropes.

CHARLES DAIGLE, Paris.

If Ronald Reagan is so concerned about the safety of Americans, why doesn't he use the Marines to throw out the government of El Salvador? It is not democratic, it has murdered Americans with impunity, and I am sure that Nicaragua would sponsor his move.

TIMOTHY DEVINNEY, Athens.

The intervention on Grenada by U.S. Marines and Caribbean forces is not an aggression but a defense. The buildup of the Nicaraguan air force, and the Cuban construction of the Point Salinas airbase on

Grenada pose a grave threat to the Western world.

Grenada is not just an unimportant island. It is an essential factor of safety in the East-West struggle for power. I believe it is good that the United States has strong leadership in the Reagan administration, expressing safety by strength.

GERHARD BERCHTOLD, Innsbruck, Austria.

### Invasion or Rescue?

Regarding "Follett: Writing Iranian Wrongs" (IHT, Oct. 14) by Jeffrey Robinson:

Before too much more acclaim accrues to Ken Follett's new book "On Wings of Eagles," here are a few things to consider from someone who was in H. Ross Perot's office when he returned from his exploit in Iran.

First, this was not a rescue mission. It was a mini-invasion of a foreign country by employees of a private American firm. It is against U.S. law for a private citizen to send armed forces into another sovereign nation. Mr. Perot has not been prosecuted for his action. Now Mr. Follett is making him into some kind of hero.

Second, the mini-invasion jeopardized the lives of the American diplomats who were taken hostage only a few days before Mr. Perot decided to mount a covert operation intended to rescue two employees of his Electronic Data Systems in Iran.

Mr. Perot's folly was planned and executed in secret. Almost any one in the U.S. government would have tried to stop this adventure had they known about it. President Carter and his staff clearly saw the use of force as unacceptably risky at that point.

JAY HENDERSON, Hong Kong.

### Why the Conflict

Regarding "When Communists Are in Conflict" (IHT, Oct. 18):

Anton Bebler does not investigate why communist states are so

unfriendly to each other. Socialist internationalism has failed at the diplomatic level because of internal and external pressures. First, in the internal sphere, the communist regime, acting through the centralized state apparatus to achieve its objectives, is much more dependent upon its autocratic power base than its capitalist counterpart, which cultivates overseas trade and investment.

As a result, communist ideology becomes increasingly reinforced with xenophobic nationalism. Furthermore, in the external sphere, the forced proximity of states will induce countries (particularly xenophobic Soviet-bloc ones) to adopt traditional balance-of-power considerations. The long border between Russia and China is a formidable geographic obstacle to any lasting Chinese-Soviet reconciliation, regardless of leadership changes in Moscow or Beijing.

It could be said that communism is nationalism with a reddish hue. Not only does this invalidate the notion of a viable, alternative socialist world order, but also the "dominoes" tend to contain each other.

ANTHONY PAUL MARTIN, London.

### Karsh's Diplomacy

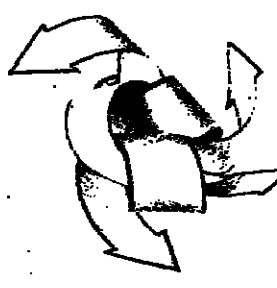
Regarding "The High and the Mighty, Bonded by Karsh of Ottawa" (IHT, Sept. 30):

Perhaps a less known facet of Karsh of Ottawa's genius as a photographer is his diplomatic talent.

Marlene Dietrich encountered it on a return visit to Karsh 25 years after her first portrait sitting for the master. Scrutinizing the new pictures, Dietrich did not hide her disapproval of them, and told Karsh he had "lost his touch."

Mindful not to upset the star, Karsh responded tactfully, "You forget, Miss Dietrich, that I am 25 years older than the last time you came to me."

FREDERICK SANDS, Geneva.



## ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE FUTURE OF WORLD TRADE

The International Herald Tribune/Trade Net Conference  
January 19-20, 1984, The Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

George P. Shultz, United States Secretary of State, will give the keynote address at a conference sponsored by the International Herald Tribune and Trade Net on "Economic Interdependence and the Future of World Trade."

### JANUARY 19

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS**  
George P. Shultz, United States Secretary of State.  
**EMERGING PRIORITIES FOR OECD & GATT**  
Moderator: Carl Gewirtz, Associate Editor, The International Herald Tribune.

**Roy Denman**, Head of the Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities, Washington, D.C.  
**William B. Kelly**, Deputy Director General of GATT.  
**J. Paul Lyet**, Chairman, Sperry Corporation.  
**Sylvia Ostro**, Special Advisor, Privy Council Office, Government of Canada, former Head, Dept. of Economics and Statistics, OECD.

**Michael B. Smith**, Deputy United States Trade Representative.

**PROTECTIONISM: RHETORIC & REALITY**  
**Malcolm Baldrige**, United States Secretary of Commerce.  
**Mamoru Tabuchi**, Executive Managing Director, Mitsui & Co. Ltd., Tokyo, President and Chief Executive Officer, Mitsui & Co. (U.S.A.) Inc.

**POLICIES & INCENTIVES FOR INDUSTRIAL COMPETITIVENESS**  
The European Viewpoint.

**Laurent Fabius**, Minister, Industry and Research, France.  
The United States Viewpoint.

**Moderator:** Myer Rashish, former U.S. Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.  
**Jerry E. Dempsey**, President, Borg-Warner Corporation.

**Thomas J. Murrin**, President, Energy and Advanced Technology Group, Westinghouse Electric Corp.

**TRADE POLICIES & THE DEBT CRISIS**  
**Chan Kai Yau**, Secretary General, ASEAN.  
Key government official, Latin America.

**COCKTAIL RECEPTION**

The conference represents an exceptional opportunity for international business leaders to participate in a high level review of world trade policies.

Places at the conference are limited and we urge you to register without delay.

### JANUARY 20

**FISCAL & MONETARY POLICIES: THEIR LINKAGE TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE**  
**Ottmar Emminger**, former President, Deutsche Bundesbank.

**R. T. McNamara**, U.S. Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.

**EAST-WEST TRADE & TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER**  
Moderator: Donald M. Kendall, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, PepsiCo, Inc.

**Don Bonker**, U.S. House of Representatives, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade.

**Stephen D. Bryen**, U.S. Dept. Asst. Secretary of Defense for International Economic Trade and Security Policy.

**Heinz Schimmelfussch**, Member, Governing Committee, Metallgesellschaft AG.

**U.S. & EEC TRADE POLICIES: CONVERGENCE & DIVERGENCE**  
**William E. Brock**, United States Trade Representative.

**Edienne Davignon**, Vice President of the Commission of the European Communities, Brussels.

**POLICIES & INCENTIVES FOR EXPORT TRADE**  
Moderator: Allen E. Puckett, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Hughes Aircraft Co.

**William H. Draper, III**, Chairman, Export-Import Bank.  
**David C. Garfield**, President, Ingersoll-Rand Co.

**Leonard Heessels**, Member, Management Board, N.V. Philips Gloeilampenfabrieken.

**Paul A. Vander Myde**, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Congressional Affairs.

**THE CONGRESSIONAL AGENDA: DOES IT FACILITATE CORPORATE COMPETITIVENESS?**  
**Robert J. Dole**, United States Senate, Chairman, Senate Finance Committee.

### REGISTRATION INFORMATION

The participation fee is \$ 895 or the equivalent in a convertible currency for each participant. Fees are payable in advance, and will be returned in full for any cancellation that is postmarked on or before January 5, 1984.

Please return conference registration form to: International Herald Tribune, Conference Office, 181 Ave. Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France. Or telephone: (33-1) 747 1265. Telex: 612 832.

### CONFERENCE LOCATION

The Shoreham Hotel, Calvert St. & Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, U.S.A.  
Telephone: (202) 234 0700. Telex: 71082201-42.

A block of rooms has been reserved for participants. For further information, please contact the hotel directly.

### CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM

Please enroll the following participant for the conference, January 19-20, 1984.

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Please invoice 7-11-83

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# International Bond Prices - Week of Nov. 4

Provided by White Weld Securities, London, Tel: 623 1277; a Division of Financière Crédit Suisse-First Boston  
Prices may vary according to market conditions and other factors

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Ant. Security	% Mat	Price	Yield
Am 126	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 127	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 128	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 129	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 130	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 131	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 132	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 133	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 143	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 144	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 145	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 146	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 147	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 148	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 149	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 150	100%	100.00	10.00

## STRAIGHT BONDS

All Currencies Except DM

Ant. Security	% Mat	Price	Yield
Am 151	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 152	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 153	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 154	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 155	100%	100.00	10.00
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## BELGIUM

Am 201	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 202	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 203	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 204	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 205	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 211	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 212	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 213	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 214	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 215	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 216	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 217	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 218	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 219	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 220	100%	100.00	10.00

## CANADA

Am 221	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 222	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 223	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 224	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 225	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 226	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 228	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 229	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 230	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 231	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 234	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 235	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 236	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 237	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 238	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 239	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 240	100%	100.00	10.00

## CONVERTIBLE BONDS

Ant. Security	% Mat	Price	Yield
Am 241	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 242	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 243	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 244	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 245	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 246	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 247	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 248	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 249	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 250	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 251	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 252	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 253	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 254	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 255	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 256	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 257	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 258	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 259	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 260	100%	100.00	10.00

## EUROPE

Am 261	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 262	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 263	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 264	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 265	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 268	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 271	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 274	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 275	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 276	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 277	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 278	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 279	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 280	100%	100.00	10.00

## JAPAN

Am 281	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 282	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 283	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 284	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 294	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 295	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 297	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 298	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 299	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 300	100%	100.00	10.00

## MISCELLANEOUS

Am 301	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 302	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 303	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 304	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 305	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 320	100%	100.00	10.00

## UNITED STATES

Am 321	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 322	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 323	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 340	100%	100.00	10.00

## EUROPE

Am 341	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 354	100%	100.00	10.00
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Am 356	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 357	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 358	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 359	100%	100.00	10.00
Am 360	100%	100.00	10.00

## JAPAN

150	Am Electric Ind	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
151	Am Electric Ind	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
152	Nrk Line	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
153	Optimus Optical	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
154	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
155	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
156	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
157	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
158	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
159	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
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161	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
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197	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
198	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
199	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91
200	Circuit Financial Co	6 18 Sep	174	7 Sep 91	7 Sep 91



# THE GULF STATES

DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION — A SPECIAL REPORT

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1983

Page 9

## Common Market: Future Force?

THE GULF states are proceeding with plans to integrate their economies and form a Gulf Arab common market along the lines of the European Community, putting their enormous financial capabilities and clout behind what analysts believe is a promising and timely effort.

Not only do most analysts agree that the members of the GCC can create a strong economic group, but they think that these states should coordinate their economic development plans and that the time has come for them to invest oil income in integrated economic projects.

With lower oil prices and no tangible improvement expected soon, the Gulf states need not only to act in concert to maintain their edge, but also to coordinate among themselves to bargain as a unit in the market, according to a Western observer who follows economic affairs. The GCC members have a growing oil refining capacity and a developed petrochemicals industry, which would require hard bargaining to market in a market saturated with lower-cost crude oil, he said.

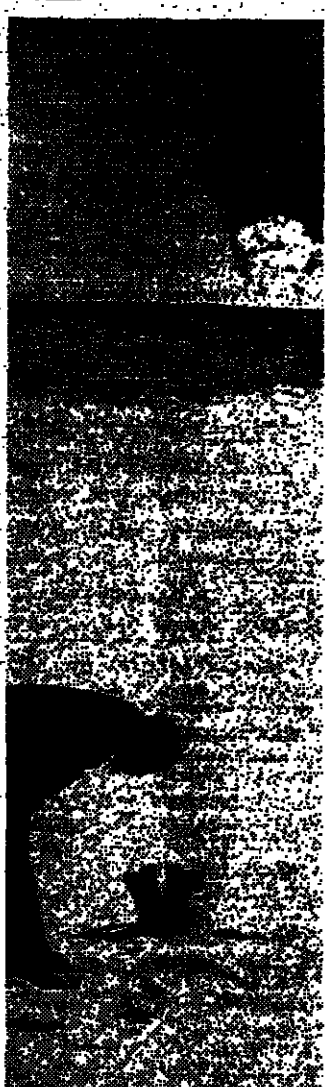
These countries' new tendency to direct investment toward other fields in industry and to encourage agricultural projects is another reason why a coordinating body could be useful, he said. He defended the investment in these areas, although he conceded that the Gulf states share problems that impede growth. Among those problems are the lack of trained low-cost labor, the high cost of acquiring modern technology, and the lack of fertile land and water.

"Since the aim of the GCC is to promote self-sufficiency under the banner of strategic security, then the economic profitability aspect of these projects is of secondary importance," he said. The GCC's official policy is to subordinate economic needs to security needs—the overriding concern of countries that feel threatened by Iran and by domestic unrest—but to decline foreign help to maintain security.

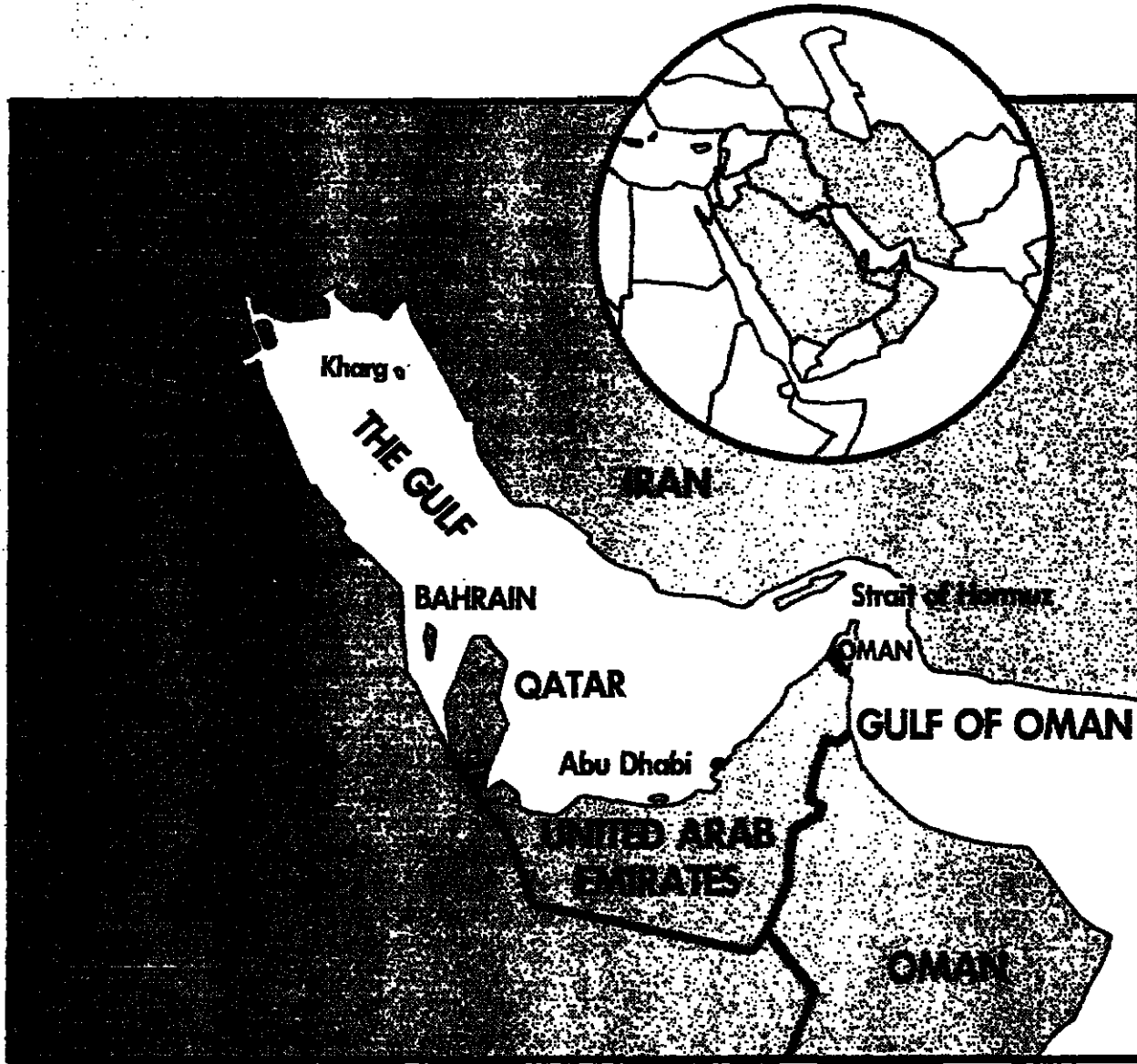
The economic agreement worked out at the first GCC summit meeting two years ago called for the coordination of financial and economic policies and the unification of laws regulating trade and industry. The agreement advocated total freedom of movement between Gulf states for individuals, funds and goods, the abolition of tariffs on locally manufactured products, and a collective customs tax system.

The charter stated that "complementary" should guide industrial development and infrastructure facilities, and that priority should be given to joint projects, financed by a fund created for this purpose, the Gulf Investment Corp., with a capital of \$2.1 billion. The GCC's

(Continued on Page 12)



Prayer in the desert: Miles away, excess gas burns off.



Local Gulf-Mountain, V.I.

## The GCC: Joint Response to a Perceived Threat

**'It has developed amazingly rapidly from looking like an ad hoc response to a certain political situation into an effective organization that can plan and coordinate many aspects of the region's public life.'**

By Frank Heard-Bey

FOR THE LAST two decades, ethnic and religious minorities, and ideological and political groups ensured that the headlines of the world's press were more often dominated by independence movements, separatism, partitioning or secession than by news of federative processes or the creation of lasting alliances.

When on May 26, 1981, the heads of the six littoral states of the Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman—signed an agreement to formally coordinate their economic, political, cultural and security efforts in the Gulf Cooperation Council, the rest of the world took little notice. The event seemed to follow a long line of Arab pledges for unity and cooperation. These pledges failed to produce much practical cooperation and often gave way to mutual acrimony.

The foundation of the Gulf Cooperation Council can be seen as the response by a group of countries to a sudden common threat, with events leading from bad to worse after the fall of the Pahlavi monarchy in Iran: Shiite minorities, which so far had only differed in some religious practices and in their social status from the majority of Sunni inhabitants of the small Arab states of the Gulf, had suddenly become a revolutionary potential.

FRANK HEARD-BEY, a German historian who lives in Abu Dhabi, has written about the unification of the United Arab Emirates, among other things.

The beginning of the war between Iran and Iraq, in September 1980, led the other Gulf states to commit themselves, at least financially, in Iraq's favor to buy themselves freedom from deeper involvement. The arrival of Soviet troops in Afghanistan in December 1979 had made it painfully obvious that one day Moscow might realize a traditional Russian dream dating from Czarist times—reaching the waters of the Gulf.

At the time, the common apprehension in the face of these dangerous developments was a strong catalyst for going ahead with organizing the GCC. Since then, the Gulf states have learned to live—albeit uneasily—with the increasing tension around them. Yet, the GCC has not run out of its initial steam. It has developed amazingly rapidly from looking like an ad hoc response to a certain political situation into an effective organization that can plan and coordinate many aspects of the region's public life. There is no ministry or department in any of the six member states that has not been involved in meetings aimed at standardizing their specialized function throughout the GCC. The European Community's influence as a model is obvious.

These six member states benefit from having not only common interests and features, such as being oil exporters, but also strong historical bonds. The most important of these bonds is their ethnic identity, manifested in the belief that the local inhabitants of all the six countries are descendants of two ancestral tribes that lived

in Yemen before they spread migratory waves over the rest of the Arabian Peninsula.

The Gulf states' urban, rural and nomadic nationals are all still aware of their being part of this regional network of tribal structures, at the apex of which stand 12 or more ruling families.

Even though these various tribes, communities, sheikdoms and city-states have frequently been at one another's throats throughout history, they have strong feelings of their relationship, when looking at Iran or at the rest of the Moslem world. The bedouin tradition still provides a common affinity, expressed in their love for bedouin lyrics and legends, and in their hospitality. Their way of integrating Islam into family, society and state gives the Sunni ruling families and their governments the confidence to claim that Ayatollah Khomeini's call for a return to the roots of Islam does not apply to their societies because they never left the Islamic base.

A common bond also is provided by the way in which the Gulf region as a whole experienced successive attempts by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Turks and the French to gain or to maintain a foothold in the Gulf. British India had the most lasting influence, even though none of the Gulf states was ever a British colony or even a protectorate. Since the early 19th century, treaties safeguarded British economic and strategic interests in the Gulf in return for a British-inspired maritime peace in the

(Continued on Following Page)

## Security Concerns Underlie Efforts For Regional Unity

By Olaf Tohamy

THE SIX conservative states of the Gulf Cooperation Council together control half the world's proven oil resources. But, despite their tremendous resources, they have made little progress toward their announced goal of becoming a strong and self-sufficient entity.

The council, grouping Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain, was formed in February 1981 in the midst of growing concern over domestic unrest and threats from abroad. Saudi Arabia had witnessed the first serious rebellion against its Sunni Wahhabi ruling family and Bahrain had uncovered a coup attempt. More recently, the tiny city-state of Qatar was the target of an attempted coup.

The prime instigator and arms-supplier in each case was Iran. Its revolutionary notions and its version of Shia Islam differ sharply from the views of the ruling family in Saudi Arabia, which is seen as standing for a moderate, puritanical Islam, and which is considered the guardian of Islam's holy shrines. Iran's war with Iraq, its muscle-flexing in the Gulf and its repeated threats to block the strategic Strait of Hormuz make it the Gulf states' No. 1 enemy.

The tensions over Iran, coupled with the fear that Soviet leaders might be planning a push toward Gulf oil fields—a fear that was exacerbated by the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan—led the GCC states to make defense their top priority.

To dramatize their determination to maintain Gulf security and prevent any superpower intervention, the GCC members in the second week of October staged joint maneuvers called "Shield of the Peninsula" in the United Arab Emirates' arid western desert.

The organization's eventual aim is to create a joint command and a rapid deployment force. But differences in technical sophistication

and military hardware among the six countries' forces make that a difficult task. One of the council's first concrete agreements involved plans for a buildup in air defenses and investment of more than \$1 billion on military industrialization; this program, however, is not yet under way.

Even in making plans for cultural cooperation and economic unity, with the eventual goal of political unity, the Gulf states have security on their minds. Thus, rather than speak of achieving self-sufficiency in food production, GCC officials refer to their goal as reaching "food security."

Shortly after this agreement was worked out, the formation of the Arab Gulf Common Market was announced, along with the creation of the \$2.1-billion Arab Investment Fund.

GCC officials say that they realize they have a long way to go, and that Arab unity cannot be achieved overnight. But the council seems to be torn between political symbolism and the realities involved in achieving unity. Thus, the enthusiastic announcement of the formation of a Common Market contrasted sharply with the protracted haggling over a clause in the agreement on unifying customs tariffs.

And so, more than two and a half years after its creation, the GCC stands as an organization with immense material resources, but little organizational capability to mobilize those resources.

## 3-Year-Old Gulf War Divides Arab States; No Solution in Sight

Neither Iran nor Iraq is a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council, but the war between these two Gulf states continues to be a potential threat to the security of the entire region, as well as to world oil supplies.

By Dilip Hira

THE IRAN-IRAQ war has gone on much longer than any other Gulf conflict in recent times, and has claimed far more lives—an estimated 150,000 combatants and about an equal number of civilians. The damage to property runs into billions of dollars. And the end is not in sight.

President Saddam Hussein's decision to invade Iran on Sept. 22, 1980, stemmed from a misreading of the Iranian realities. Accepting at face value the reports on Iran by exiled Iranian generals and politicians, and by the Western media, the Iraqi president believed that, once his troops had marched into the oil-rich Iranian region of Khuzestan, the disaffected Arab Iranians of that province, the Bakhtiari tribes in the adjoining area (supposed to be fiercely loyal to Shahpur Bakhtiari, the shah's last prime minister), and the long-suffering middle classes everywhere, would rise up against Ayatollah Khomeini and welcome the Iraqi troops as liberators. The operation was expected to last three weeks.

Three years have gone by. Instead of causing his downfall, the Iraqi invasion enabled Ayatollah Khomeini to rally the Iranian nation and consolidate the Islamic regime. Today, despite colossal loss of life and property, the ayatollah's power base is larger and stronger than before the war.

With the army at 320,000, the air force at 70,000 and the navy at 23,000, the total strength of the Iranian military is back to what it was before the revolution. In addition, there is the Revolutionary Guard, more than 150,000 strong, with half of these troops fighting at the front. Finally, there is the Basij volunteer force. According to the government, 2.5 million Basij volunteers have been given basic training in arms handling, and half a million have served on the front—this in a country with a population of 40 million.

Many Iranians feel that they are fighting not only as patriots, to recover their territory from an occupying power, but also as Islamic combatants facing an infidel Baathist regime in Baghdad. "War can be as holy as prayer when it is fought for the sake of defending

Islam" is a frequent slogan on the walls of Tehran.

The Iranian regime sees itself as the base of revolutionary Islam, which is opposed as much to the consumer values of the West as it is to the materialist philosophy of the socialist East, which denies spiritualism. It portrays Iraq as a country backed by both superpowers who wish to destroy the Islamic revolution in Iran.

For example, Iran sees an example of collusion between the superpowers in the fact that Iraqi transport planes—Soviet-built Ilyushin craft—were ferrying Exocet missiles, fragmentation bombs and antitank missiles from the French airport of Chateauroux to Iraq.

As a party to the 1972 Iraqi-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation, Baghdad receives arms from Moscow. On the other side, Saudi Arabia, Iraq's principal financial backer, is firmly allied to the United States. It is through Riyadh that U.S. satellite and high-altitude reconnaissance pictures of Iranian troop movements are known to be passed on to Baghdad by Washington. (Diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United States, broken off in June 1967, have not been restored.)

Iran is not without friends, however. In Syria, Libya and North Korea it has active and useful allies against Iraq. Syrian aid has been particularly helpful to Iran. By shutting off the Iraqi oil pipeline to the Mediterranean through Syria, in April 1982, President Hafez Assad halved the already reduced oil revenues of Iraq. Since the beginning of the war, the Syrian president has provided Iran with much intelligence on Iraq.

Syria provides Iran with Soviet weapons, spare parts and ammunition needed for the Soviet arms captured from the Iraqi forces by Iran. Libya and North Korea are other sources of such supplies to Tehran. Last year Iran spent 40 percent of its \$2-billion budget for foreign arms procurement on military hardware bought from North Korea.

Iran has found ways to procure spare parts and ammunition for its U.S. and British weapons through private firms based in Athens, Madrid and New York.

(Continued on Page 12)

## Agriculture: Overall Regional Progress Despite Differences in Approach

By Sarah Seacraft

MAKING THE desert green has been a popular phrase since oil wealth began to increase in the area, and projects have proliferated up and down the Gulf. As oil revenues decline, agriculture presents a glowing image of the diversification that everyone has discussed halfheartedly for so long.

There are several aims behind the discussions, given different emphasis in different places. Apart from self-sufficiency and diversification, there is the desire to establish a living for the dwindling rural population, especially in Saudi Arabia and Oman. The tendency to make farming too technologically intensive, however, makes this an area that could benefit particularly from GCC-organized cooperation.

A number of regional organizations have been coordinating activities and research for several years. The Food and Agriculture Organization and the UN Development Program operate in various countries promoting the improvement and production of food crops. UNDP has a research station at Diddagah in Ras al-Khaimah in the United Arab Emirates, and it financed a fisheries study in the Gulf in the 1970s. It also has a training center in Kuwait. The Arab Livestock Co. is a nonprofit organization with headquarters in Damascus that helps finance poultry farms and dairy herds. There is a date research bureau in Iraq. And the various Arab funds, both regional and national, have helped set up agricultural projects both on a purely commercial and on a research-oriented basis.

The most promising agricultural areas lie in the United Arab Emirates, Oman and Saudi Arabia. Kuwait has a small desert area, but it is not suitable for agriculture. The Gulf states have a long tradition of agriculture and are proud of it. The Emirates' wheat is grown on a much smaller scale around Al-Ain. It is extravagant with water, an extravagance aggravated by the government's lavish distribution of pumps. About 73 percent of the Emirates' annual consumption of water goes to agriculture, and Al-Ain's development has drawn heavily on underground aquifers that are being supplemented by desalinated water piped up from Abu Dhabi.

Vegetable production has been more successful, particularly in the winter months (a Japanese oil company is experimenting in Al-Ain with growing them in the summer). Tomatoes, cucumbers, zucchini and eggplant are grown, notably at Abu Dhabi's Arid Zone Project, but UN experts regard this method of growing plants in mineral solutions as too technical and not really necessary.

wait as a seafaring nation has concentrated more on developing its fishing; Bahrain and Qatar, while keen on farms, have not had them as a priority, although Bahrain plans to spend \$69 million on agriculture between 1982 and 1985.

Oman has the longest tradition of agriculture and is proud of it. The Emirates' wheat is grown on a much smaller scale around Al-Ain. It is extravagant with water, an extravagance aggravated by the government's lavish distribution of pumps. About 73 percent of the Emirates' annual consumption of water goes to agriculture, and Al-Ain's development has drawn heavily on underground aquifers that are being supplemented by desalinated water piped up from Abu Dhabi.

The Emirates' main growing areas are Ras al-Khaimah in the north, with relatively plentiful aquifers, and the ancient oasis of Al-Ain. Saudi Arabia's agriculture is concentrated around Riyadh and in the Eastern Province, which has been described, rather hyperbolically, as a new Texas.

Many of the Gulf rulers show a deep personal commitment to cultivation. Sultan Qaboos bin Said in Oman and the rulers of the United Arab Emirates, above all Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan of Abu Dhabi, have their own farms. Sheikh Zayed, in particular, has been responsible for the generous greenery of Al-Ain and Abu Dhabi cities; in the latter, housewives can collect free plants and subsidized compost from the municipal

Saudi Arabia hopes the so-called new Texas will make it self-sufficient in wheat in the near future. The Saudi government guarantees

farmers nearly five times the world price of wheat, as well as providing them—as does the Emirates—with indirect subsidies in the form of machinery, fertilizers, seeds, insecticides and technological know-how. About 400,000 tons of wheat were harvested in 1981.

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Vegetable production has been more successful, particularly in the winter months (a Japanese oil company is experimenting in Al-Ain with growing them in the summer). Tomatoes, cucumbers, zucchini and eggplant are grown, notably at Abu Dhabi's Arid Zone Project, but UN experts regard this method of growing plants in mineral solutions as too technical and not really necessary.

Marketing often needs improving, and the Emirates has recently set up a public purchasing body to do that. It has been suggested that there be a similar coordinating body within the GCC. Governments are also looking more selectively at which vegetables to grow. A locally and privately financed farm has been started this year in Ras al-Khaimah, managed by the Swiss Game-Consult, to produce fruit (mainly citrus and melons) and vegetables for the Swiss market. But large-scale exports are unlikely for a long time and the U.A.E. government is trying to be more selective in its encouragement.

Forestry is a strange concept in the desert landscape of Arabia. There are huge plantations along the Gulf coast, with saplings lining the road, several rows deep. The main purpose is to act as windbreakers and dune stabilizers. Date palms have been planted, with seedlings from Iraq, where most experimentation goes on. The higher standard of living has made people more selective about the product—hence the boxes of California dates in Gulf supermarkets. Saudis eat the most (29 kilos per capita a year) and grow the most popular varieties. A good Arabian palm will produce 30 kilograms a year, but a California palm can produce 100 kilograms.

Poultry is the boom industry at the moment. "If anyone comes to me with a project for a chicken farm," a bank manager said, "I'll throw myself out of the window."

The statistics are mind-boggling: Saudis, for instance, eat 200 million chickens, as well as 1 billion eggs a year. Three chicken farms are being built in the United Arab Emirates, which together will provide another 10 million or more eggs annually. Meanwhile, the Emirates imports nearly \$300 million worth of chicken a year, most of it from Denmark, where four Arabs are sent every two weeks to do the slaughtering along Islamic lines. Much of the feed for Gulf chicken farms comes as raw material from Pakistan to a Sharjah feed mill, which exports throughout the Gulf.

When one speaks of dairies in the Gulf, it usually means plants for reconstituting powdered milk, most of it from the European Community. There are, however, a few dairies; there is even a road sign in the Emirates warning drivers that cattle may cross the road. The largest dairy in the Gulf is in Saudi



A road is bulldozed through southern Saudi Arabia's terraced farming region.

most of it from the European Community. There are, however, a few dairies; there is even a road sign in the Emirates warning drivers that cattle may cross the road. The largest dairy in the Gulf is in Saudi



## THE GULF STATES

## The GCC: Joint Response to a Perceived Threat

(Continued From Preceding Page)

Gulf and later diplomatic representation abroad — except in Saudi Arabia where Britain did not achieve the same influence. This treaty relationship came to an end in 1962 for Kuwait, and for the other littoral states of the Gulf in 1971.

Because Britain had never upgraded its supervisory presence in the Gulf to full colonial engagement in the hinterland, not interfering more than necessary in the internal affairs of the sheikhdoms and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, none of these states had the ready-made administration and infrastructure to rely on when their oil incomes generated the need to develop their societies.

All six GCC states are oil producers, from Saudi Arabia, which reached 9.9 million barrels a day in 1980, to Bahrain, which is down to 40,000 barrels a day. But the year that a country first exported oil is as vital for its development as is the amount of oil it can export today. For instance, Bahrain has become the center of banking and services in the Gulf because Bahrain is where oil was first discovered in the Gulf in 1932. Bahrain's society of merchants, which already had instituted formal schooling in 1919, benefits more from the oil boom in neighboring countries than from its

own limited oil resources. Unlike any of its partners in the Gulf Cooperation Council, Bahrain exports specialized manpower, such as teachers, administrators or bankers to other Gulf states.

The stark contrast between the haves and the have-nots in the past already generated close contacts among the Gulf states. Individuals or whole families moved from Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Oman and the smaller emirates to Qatar, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, where they found work, health services and education. During the early years of oil in the Gulf, these fortunate states demonstrated a practical type of Arab brotherhood and Islamic social obligation by building, running and maintaining hospitals, roads and schools for the benefit of the whole area.

Therefore, far from being merely an ad hoc response to a particular political situation, the GCC could build on substantial common ground. The announcement in the spring of 1968 by the government of Harold Wilson that Britain would withdraw its umbrella from the Gulf before the end of 1971 provided the impetus for mutual consultation on how best to respond to the new situation.

Although the original federation of nine Gulf emirates did not materialize, preparing its constitution

and coping with Iran's claims to Bahrain and three other islands required continual dialogue and often intense bargaining. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia participated as mediators in these federation talks. Eventually, due to the considerable geographical obstacles and demographic imbalance, the federation of the nine failed, and Bahrain and Qatar declared themselves independent in the summer of 1971. The seven Trucial States were left to continue to build on foundations already laid, and benefiting from the experience of the previous three years, they were eventually able to establish a workable federal state.

The economy of the U.A.E., which was founded in December 1971, rests quite securely on Abu Dhabi's and Dubai's substantial revenues from oil. Yet, observers have persistently predicted the collapse of the federation, pointing to the differences between the partners and to the provisional constitution that allows each member to be semi-autonomous. However, it is the strength of all federal systems, that they can accommodate differences that would break a rigidly centralized administration. The U.A.E. benefits from the grassroots democracy that each of the seven paternally ruled emirates provides for its citizens in urban centers, desert settlements and mountain oases. Where this time-

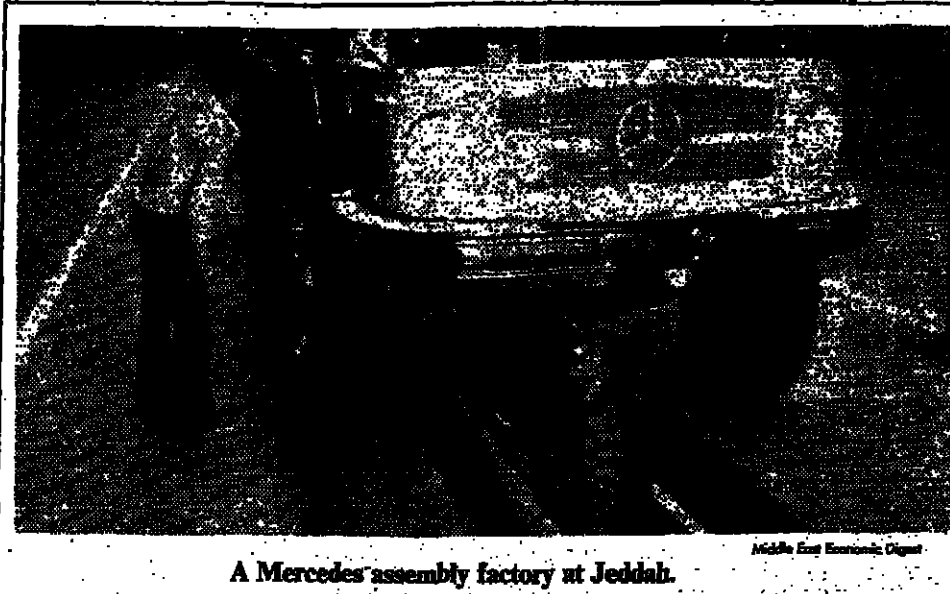
honored system fails to provide the modern amenities that the population of such a rich state now can expect, the centralized administration of the relevant ministry is there to step in.

Having observed how the GCC already has drawn almost every conceivable aspect of a public, political or administrative nature into its orbit, it might seem possible that eventually its various administrative bodies could function like the U.A.E.'s federal ministries. Several GCC regulations already have been adopted by individual governments, and their implementation could eventually develop into some kind of Gulf-wide centralized administration.

There are two principal reasons that the Gulf Cooperation Council has developed so rapidly from a loose alliance to practical cooperation: One is that however much these states differ in size, economic weight and political maturity, they all are in the process of institution-building and of legislating for circumstances that several years ago did not exist in their territories. It suits each one of the six governments to pool resources and jointly to work out the new legal, administrative and practical procedures. The other reason is that the GCC enjoys considerable popular support.

In the face of intolerable immigration levels, which have in some member states already reduced the local population to a mere 20 percent of the total number of inhabitants, most Arabs of the Gulf hope that the GCC is the magic wand that eventually will enable them to manage their public and private affairs more efficiently and with minimal outside help. The intellectuals among them have in recent decades observed the shortcomings and failures of Nasserism, Baathism, Pan-Arabism and communism. They also have seen that the rest of the Arab world has often bluntly demanded financial contributions from the rich Gulf oil producers, while treating them as though they were politically backward.

Thus, risking the odium of selfishly establishing an exclusive club of the richest Arab states, some of the spiritual leaders of the GCC claim that the whole Arab world needs a new moral and practical backbone, which the politically liberal leadership in the Gulf may be in a good position to provide. If this means that, for the time being, the GCC also looks like a convenient means to perpetuate the paternalistic rule of these countries' dynasties — well, they say, that is what the majority of the local population can still most readily identify with.



A Mercedes assembly factory at Jeddah.

## Conflicts of Interest Mar Unity Bid

CAIRO — The appearance of a consensus characterizing Gulf Cooperation Council decisions often masks real conflicts of interests that might stand in the way of the Gulf countries' hope of attaining political unity.

The rules governing operation within the GCC are based on the principle of equality. But this is only theoretical as the six members can easily be classified according to their performance within the GCC as leaders, their protégés or satellites, independents, or renegades.

Saudi Arabia, by far the largest of these oil-producing states, and one whose defense capabilities guarantee it the status of a regional power in the Middle East, is recognized by others as speaker for the group. But its predominance over the council is often questioned in stormy meetings by Kuwait, the second-largest oil producer in the Arabian Peninsula, and an emirate that regards itself as more modernized and open than the rest of the member states.

Oman, the sultanate at the southeastern tip of the peninsula overlooking the Strait of Hormuz, has adopted a pro-Western policy, and is often blamed by its Gulf neighbors led by Saudi Arabia for having offered a base for U.S. troops.

The other smaller states include Bahrain, regarded by analysts as a Saudi protégé, and two satellites — the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

GCC members seem to differ less on economic issues than on matters related to defense, security or foreign policy. A few months after the GCC was formed, the Gulf states were able to reach consensus on a detailed economic agreement covering the various fields of policy coordination and integration between them. But despite the pressing need for a similar agreement on defense and security, they have only managed to work out a general agreement on defense. The security pact has been on the agenda of two summit meetings, and was to be brought up at the meeting this month.

With the Gulf viewed — since the revolution in Iran and the Iraqi-Iranian war — as one of the world's hottest areas, relations with the superpowers are an unresolved issue of crucial importance.

The key question of possible U.S. intervention in the event of an Iranian assault on the Gulf is one that these states continue to haggle over, and the view of the three most powerful ones diverge widely. Another

key question that they continue to differ on is the extent to which other GCC states should extend help to a member state in the event of domestic unrest. They have also not figured out a way of overcoming competition among themselves in preparation for achieving economic unity and interdependence.

Kuwait seems to be Saudi Arabia's closest partner on economic subjects, backing Saudi suggestions at OPEC meetings and often seeking to rally radical states, with which it shares good relations, to the Saudi side. But it has stood firmly against a Saudi-sponsored security agreement calling for the coordination of punishments, cross-border pursuits and extradition of criminals.

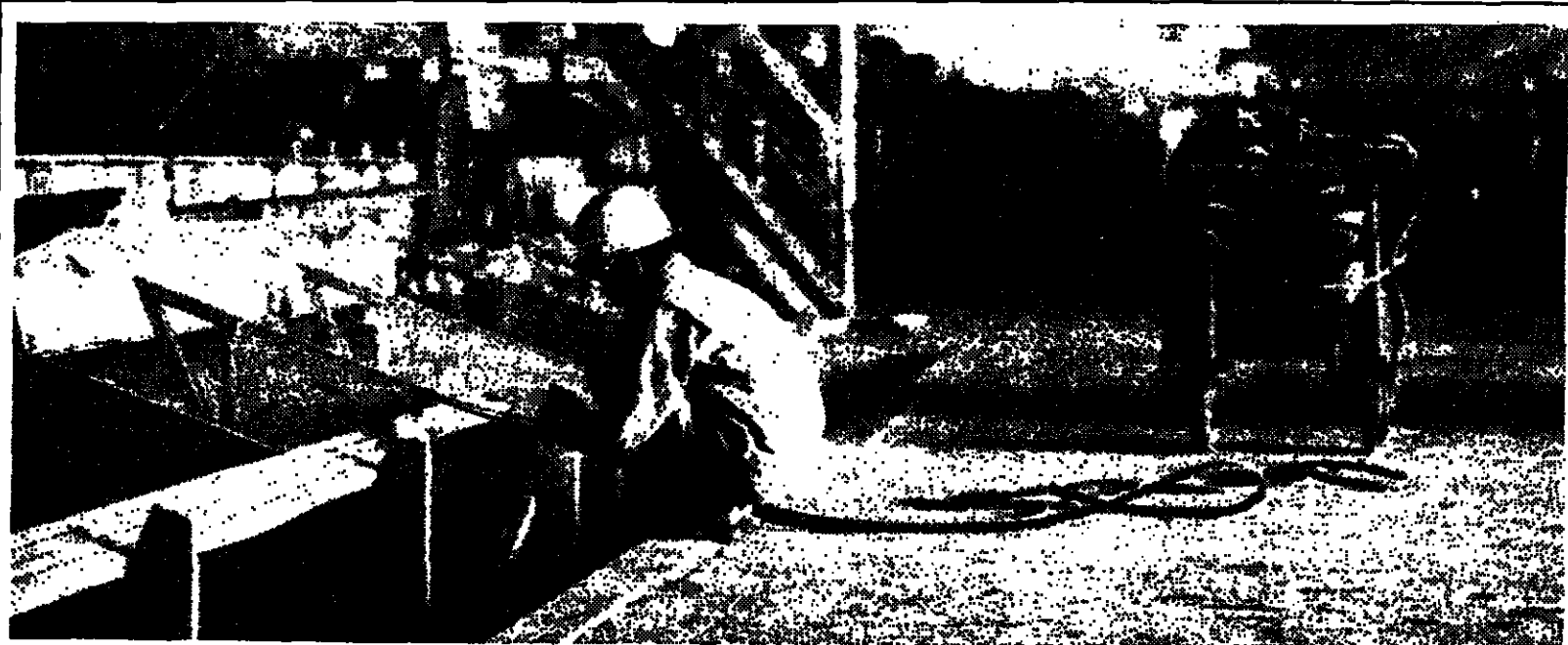
A number of factors qualify Kuwait as the "renegade" of the group, as a Western analyst put it. They include its ties with the Soviet Union, its relations with radical Arab states, and its rallying the United Arab Emirates to its side at the summit meeting following the Iranian-backed coup attempt in Bahrain to prevent the adoption of collective sanctions against Iran — with which both countries maintain trade relations.

In many ways Oman is at the other end of the spectrum, advocating a direct superpower — American — role in protecting the Gulf. In contrast to Kuwait, Oman urges other GCC members to speed up the implementation of unified contingency plans and military coordination.

Oman's deep concern for its security stems from its location at the mouth of the Gulf, controlling navigation through the Strait of Hormuz. According to one official, Oman's pro-Western stance and its continuing diplomatic relations with Egypt (after that country was denounced by most Arab nations for its peace treaty with Israel) have often put it in difficult situations, especially at closed meetings.

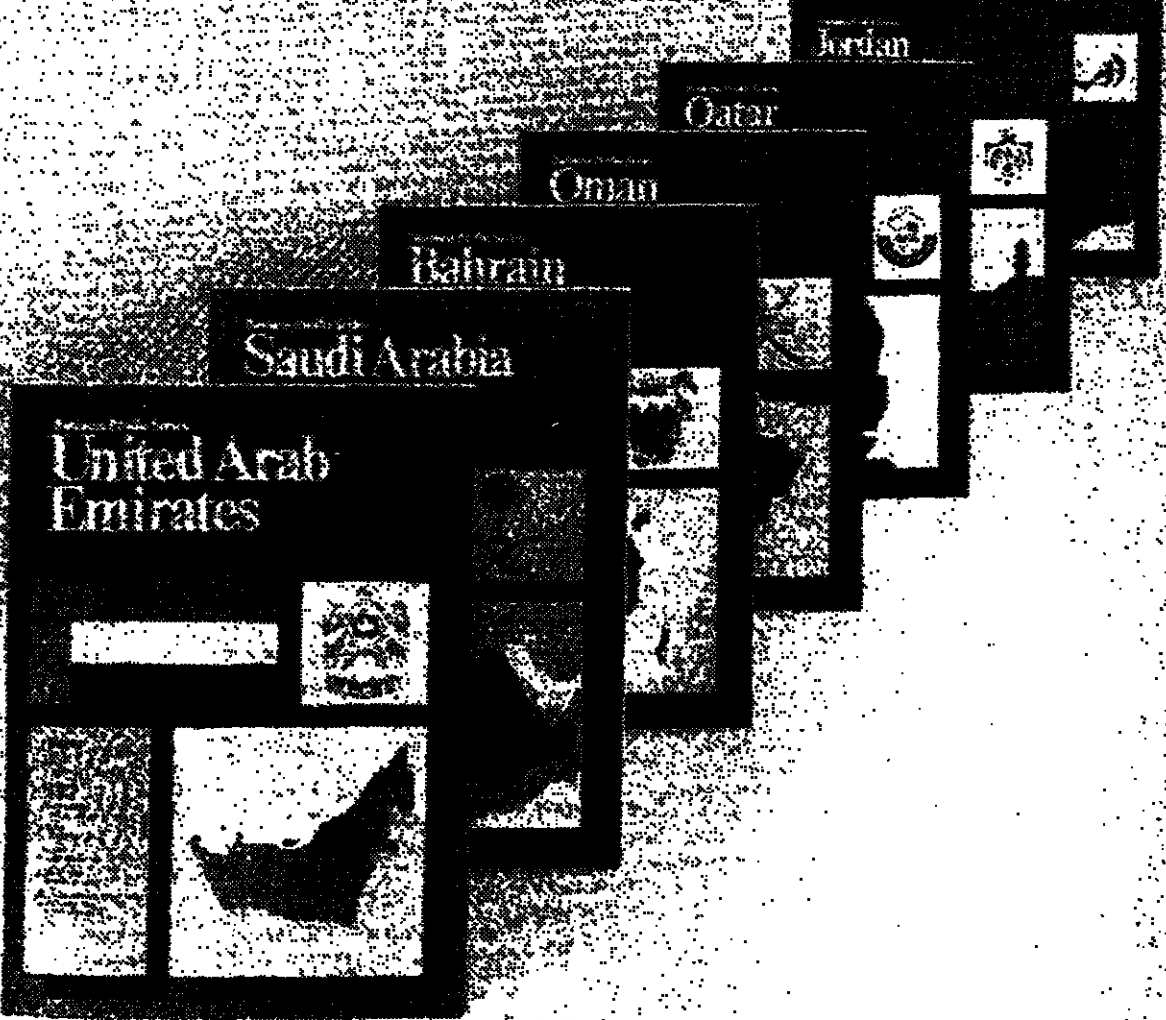
Bahrain, the Gulf's resort and financial center and the closest of the smaller states to Saudi Arabia, often receives rewards for being its faithful ally. A few days after a coup attempt in the island in December 1981, the two countries signed what amounted to a mutual defense pact. Moreover, to boost Bahrain's economy, suffering from the effect of the recession in the West and the drop in oil prices, work has begun on a causeway linking the two countries and costing Saudi Arabia about \$1 billion. Bahrain was also the first state to receive a GCC grant.

OLEAT TOHAMY



Steel production at the Qatar Steel Company. The emirate has invested heavily in industrial production.

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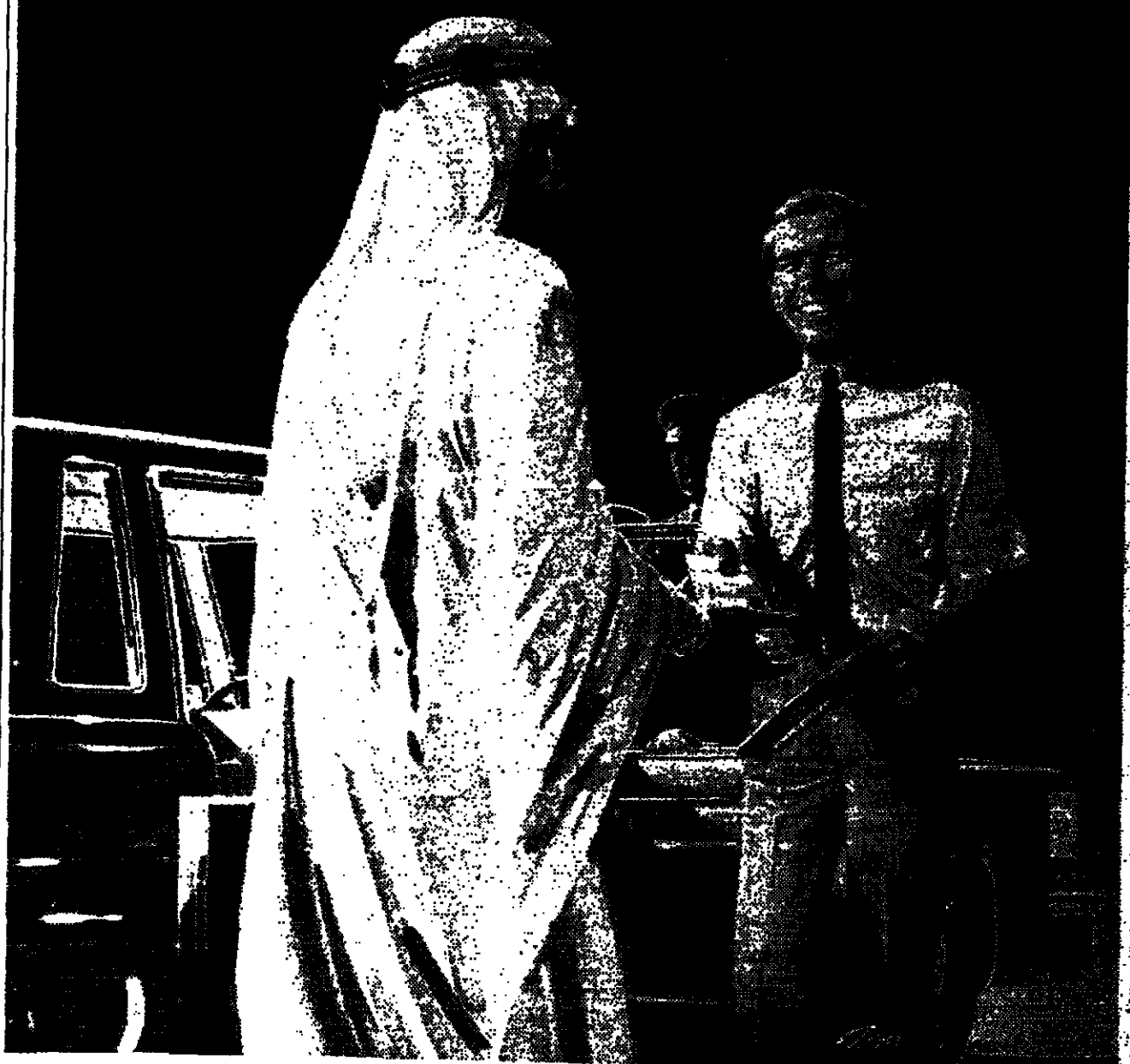
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## THE GULF STATES



Aluminum ingots produced at Dubai's Jebel Ali industrial park.



A water desalination and power plant at Ghubra, Muscat.

## Oil Income Fall Threatens Status As a Power Bloc

OIL HAS TRANSFORMED the Gulf's desert sheikhdoms into a recognized power bloc in Arab, Islamic, African and international circles. But the erosion of oil income threatens to reduce these states' ability to maintain their newly acquired status and the influence they have wielded during the last decade.

Since the decline of oil income early this year, a realistic forecast of the world oil market conditions over the next few years predicts that the Gulf economies will not recover their 1979-1980 oil income levels before 1986-1987. Despite the series of setbacks that the oil market has witnessed in the last three years, the Gulf's oil producers possess \$300 billion in liquid assets. They continue to produce a little more than half of the world's oil output and control the same amount of proven oil reserves.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar have been coordinating economic policies among themselves within the Gulf Cooperation Council, and with other major Arab oil producers within the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, but they would not go so far as to create "an OPEC within OPEC," as one GCC official put it.

Gulf officials believe that their relative strength can be maintained in spite of the growth of non-OPEC suppliers such as Mexico.

An oil analyst, asserting that these countries will be capable of maintaining their edge in the market, rejects the suggestion of a Gulf oil cartel as "unrealistic" because of the present conditions.

The suggestion, made by a Saudi economist, he said, could prove of value when other producers pumping excessively to meet their need for cash will have depleted their limited resources, while the Gulf countries wisely respect the production ceilings they have set for themselves.

The political power the Gulf states have acquired is largely based on their acquisition of sophisticated military hardware and their large aid programs for poorer nations.

Reduced national incomes could entail a reduction in the high levels of military spending — amounting to more than 30 percent in the United Arab Emirates and Oman but slightly less in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Bilateral aid, particularly to Iraq and Arab states sharing borders with Israel, as well as to the Palestine Liberation Organization, is another burden on the economies of the Gulf states. Kuwait's parliament, for example, has demanded that the government stop its foreign aid program.

But Iraq's war with Iran continues to stand as the main drain on the Gulf states' economies.

By conservative estimates Iraq has received not less than \$30 billion in loans and grants since the beginning of the war.

The Gulf states contribute the bulk of funds channeled through a multitude of organizations to poorer Arab and African states in the form of loans and grants.

These include the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD), the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF), the Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Organization (IGIO), and the Arab Authority for Agricultural Investment (AAA).

The GCC members have also gone ahead with establishing their own Gulf Investment Corp. (GIC) with equal contribution of the member states to its capital totaling \$2.1 billion to be directed toward investment in projects within and outside the Gulf region.

Hany El Emary, a financial expert who has worked for a number of major Gulf financial institutions, doubts that a government-sponsored institution such as the GIC can be effective and suggests the formation of an Arab Investment Bank with "a board of directors of technicians supervised by a board of governors, directing funds to viable and feasible projects with a view of integration and profitability."

He believes that, through this type of financial enterprise, Gulf governments can combine political returns with economic revenue when guaranteed the right to operate freely and repatriate profits.

He added that such opportunities exist in many Arab states, including Egypt, Tunisia and Sudan.

—OLFAT TOHAMY

## Modern Communications, Transportation Aid Cooperation

THERE IS nothing new about cooperation in the Gulf, the region's officials say, as they shuttle from one capital to another. Historical records bear them out: The peoples of the area have sailed, ridden and walked from one part to another for thousands of years. Sumerians sailed to India; the people of the Indus Valley came back.

Trading communities have been unearthed up and down the Gulf coast, notably in Bahrain, off the Kuwaiti coast at Failaka and beside Abu Dhabi's main refinery and desalination plant at Umm al-Nar. Salt and incense, charcoal, copper and dates opened up the peninsula with a network of tracks from one well to another.

So the constant movement of ministers, officials, merchants and families is all in the tradition. What has changed is the speed and ease with which they do it. One thing the many meetings and discussions of the Gulf Cooperation Council and its committees has shown is how communications have grown during the last 10 years.

Air communications are excellent within the region as well as outside. Riyadh's new \$2.5-billion airport, the world's largest in area, should be finished this year. Abu Dhabi, despite its budget deficit, is going ahead with another international airport at Al-Ain. Dubai's air traffic — passenger and freight — grows in leaps and bounds. The United Arab Emirates does point up the dangers of expensive duplication and lack of federal planning, which might serve as a warning to the region as a whole. Only Oman and Saudi Arabia have five-year plans.

Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have their own national airlines, while the other council members are joint owners of the ubiquitous Gulf Air. The crash of a Gulf Air airliner near Abu Dhabi in September is unlikely

to have much effect on passenger rates; no one else offers the range of short hops from one Gulf country to another, especially the airline's breakfast runs. Between the states of the lower Gulf, you can fit in a working day and be home to sleep.

There is also a network of roads covering the peninsula. Of the GCC members, Oman still has the most to accomplish to link the scattered pockets of its population in some of the most rugged terrain, and this is exactly where GCC funds could come in useful. Oman's Ministry of Communications is the largest spender on development, and one of the most significant projects was the recently completed Muscat to Salalah road, helping to break down the barriers between the two regions.

There is not yet a coordinated transport policy. Public transport is almost nonexistent, although one comes across the occasional optimistic bus stop in the desert. An efficient and cheap substitute is the shared taxi. It is not easy driving from one country to another; there are often long delays at border posts, even for Gulf citizens, although they can fly in and out of one another's countries without much difficulty.

Truck traffic makes the most use of the roads, stemming from the days when you could wait months to offload goods at the ports, and Kuwait and Dubai trucks lead the way. Today, the economic incentive stems from the higher risk insurance paid on cargo at sea. The Kuwaitis have always been the leading traders in the area, and truck companies have made substantial profits taking goods into Iraq that were shipped into lower Gulf ports. Dubai traders did not like to see their re-export business in other hands and have gone into the trucking business themselves.

The GCC has been considering a railway from Iraq to the Indian Ocean, an old imperial dream. It could link Khor Fakkan, Fujairah and, allegedly, Muscat.

Saudi Arabia is the keenest on railways and the only country in the region to have one. The government has allocated \$1.5 billion to modernize its railroad and recently bought some "super luxury" coaches. At present, the only railway runs from Riyadh to Dammam, via Hofuf, and the Saudis are planning a second direct line between the first two places.

As for seaports, the GCC transport committee has been investigating them, especially in the lower Gulf, to see whether a degree of specialization — instead of competition — could not be introduced. Again, there is not enough regional planning. Oman is drafting a plan on its port requirements in the next 20 years but in the United Arab Emirates each emirate builds its own port regardless of the others. Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province ports are an example of specialization, and its financing of Bahrain's Mina Salman is an example of regional cooperation that the GCC could use as models.

Dubai's newest port, the vast Jebel Ali, has recently been used for mothballing tankers; it can accommodate three Very Large Crude Carriers (VLCCs) at the same time and still look empty. Another huge port is being built at Jubail on the Saudi coast although this will concentrate on serving the downstream industries of the city. At the other extreme is the small new port of Fujairah in the Emirates on the Indian Ocean, where the new federally financed port has been in operation for a year.

Cooperation in the field of shipping has been discussed at Gulf meetings although it is unlikely to get much further in the present state of world shipping. A feasibility study on the prospects of a coastal shipping service has been suggested, but this is hardly the time to launch a shipping line, least of all in the Gulf.

Meanwhile, the United Arab Shipping Co. is another aspect of Gulf cooperation, a venture between the

governments of the area. Marine fraud is still a problem in the Gulf, and this was discussed again by the GCC, which this year became a member of the London-based anti-fraud International Maritime Bureau. As the IMB's director said: "It's all a question of communication. Fraud crosses frontiers too easily; you've got to get to the next person quickly."

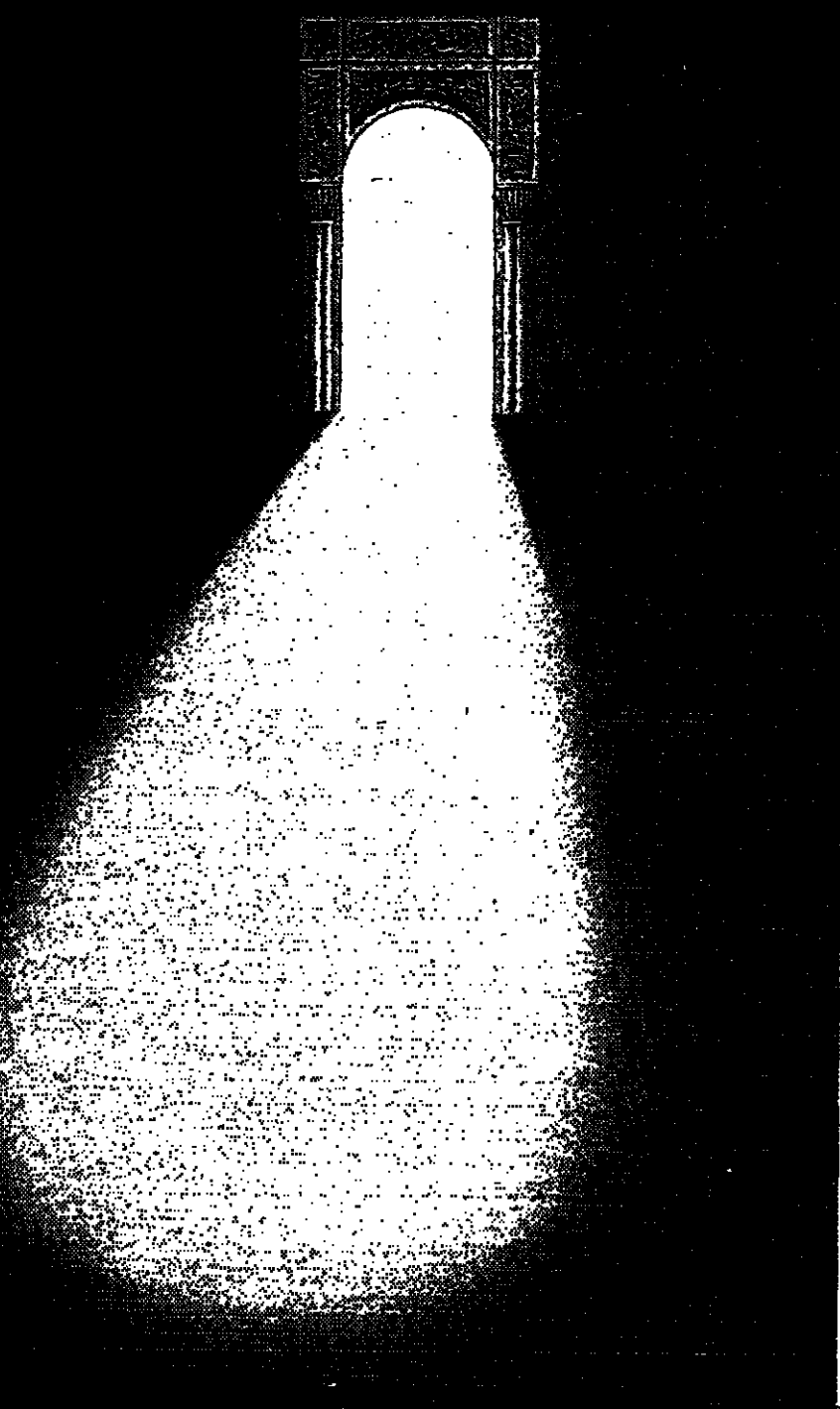
The telecommunications event with the greatest potential — for television, education, video-conferencing as well as voice transmission — will be the launching in 1984 of ArabSat. This is not merely a Gulf venture; it is designed to link the region with earth stations in 22 Arab countries, many of which are under construction by the Japanese. There are to be two orbiting satellites, the first to be launched next February. An Arabian Gulf Joint Program Institute has been set up in Kuwait, the GCC leader as far as television is concerned.

A further example of regional cooperation is the Bahrain causeway, financed to the extent of \$564 million by Saudis. The pros and cons of this link with the mainland highlight some of the problems that the GCC faces and that will probably become more acute if cooperation is to develop into anything more than a series of mere get-togethers.

Many Bahrainis welcome the extra trade that would come with visiting Saudis. Others are apprehensive that the island may develop into a Saudi playground or that the heavy hand of Saudi Islam will curtail the island's liberal living. Similarly the smaller states of the Gulf fear the "imperialism" of the bigger, while the poorer (such as Bahrain) welcome the generosity of the richer. The peoples of the Gulf have traditionally traveled across and around the area. But it is important to remember that it was not always in peace.

—SARAH SEARIGHT

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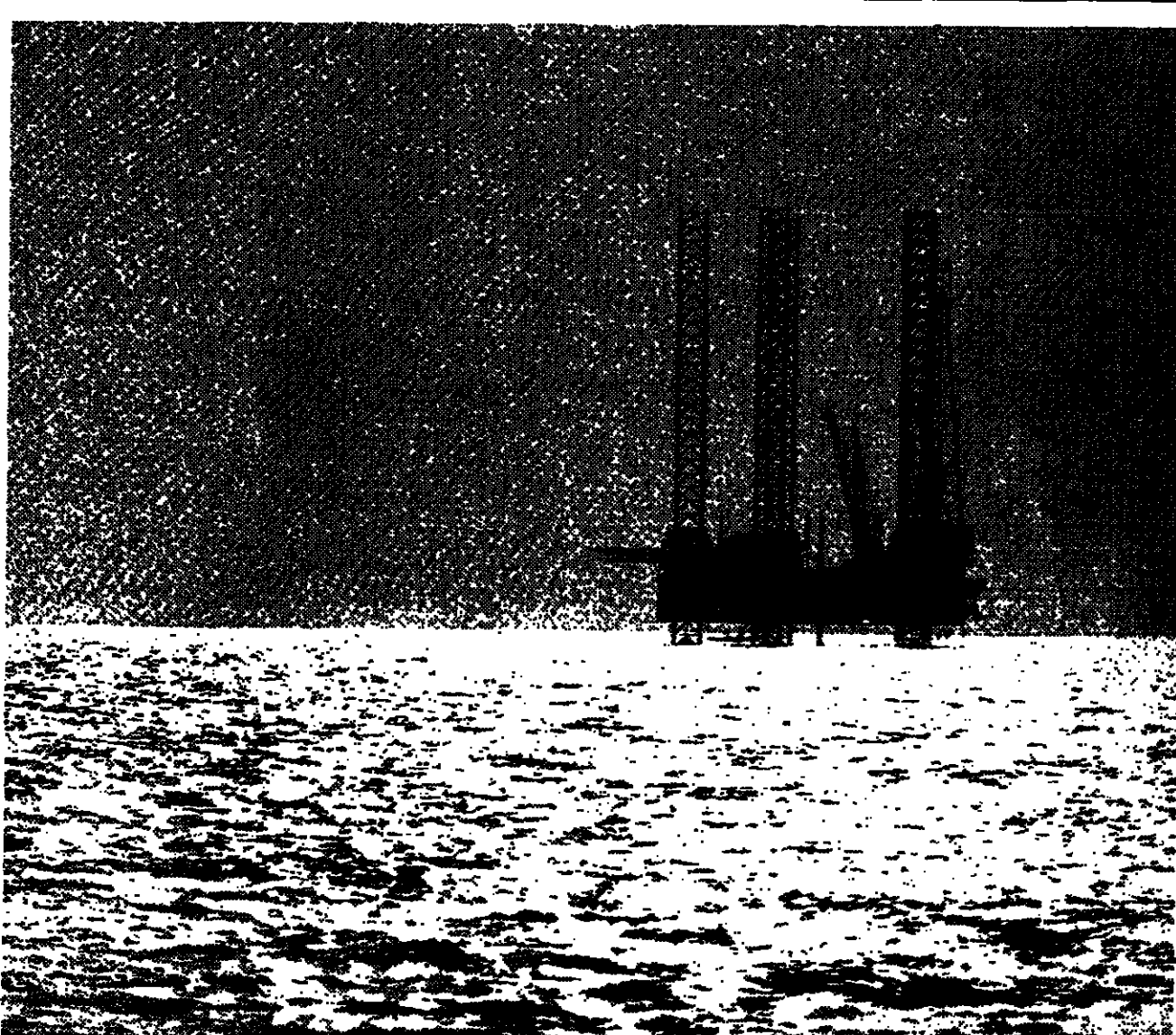
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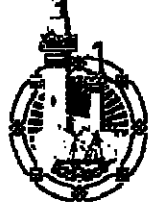
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## THE GULF STATES

### Security: More Coordination at the Top

By Robert Bailey

EACH OF the six member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council has spent millions of dollars purchasing military equipment in the last 10 years in a search for a still elusive sense of security.

Until recently, military planning was conducted individually by each nation. However, defense cooperation is an increasingly important factor in GCC thinking, according to the Riyadh-based council's secretary-general, Abdullah Bishara, who points out that such cooperation is necessary to give credibility to the council's nonaligned foreign policy.

The first military exercises involving contingents from all six countries ended on Oct. 16. They are an indication of the concentrated efforts being made to acquire the necessary credibility. It will not be a rapid process.

While about 190,000 men can be called upon together with nearly 900 main battle tanks, 3,500 other armored vehicles, 400 fighter aircraft and 800 helicopters, an almost total lack of coordination between the states renders this formidable inventory of weapons almost impotent. The lack of coordination is sometimes exacerbated by rivalries between elements in the armed forces of individual states such as Saudi Arabia, which has a regular army of 35,000 men and a separately constituted and equipped 25,000-member bedouin force known as the National Guard.

The most lavishly outfitted forces of all the GCC states are found in Saudi Arabia. The army is negotiating the purchase of 1,200 of the latest U.S. M-1 Abrams main battle tanks.

There are 14,000 men in the kingdom's air force, which now operates 170 combat aircraft including F-15s. Another 36 fighters, 40 transport aircraft, five Airborne Warning & Control System (AWACS) aircraft and other planes are on order.

A comparatively large navy is being formed around an attack force of 12 fast vessels, nine of which are armed with Exocet MM-40 missiles and four corvettes armed with Harpoon surface-to-surface missiles. Four frigates and two logistics ships are also due to be supplied by France, which has sold almost \$5 billion in ships and other naval equipment and support services to Saudi Arabia since 1980.

The purchase of modern equipment is mirrored to a lesser scale in other GCC states. All lack skilled manpower, however. It is reported that 10,000 foreign-constructed military personnel work in Saudi Arabia. British Aerospace has 1,500 expatriate staff providing training and support for the air force. U.S. and French technicians and instructors also support long-standing military programs.

While a Saudi battalion fought on the Suez Canal in the 1973 war and Saudi troops took part for a period in the Arab League's Lebanon peacekeeping force, Gulf soldiers — with the exception of the Omanis — and their officers have virtually no combat experience. Oman's compact British-commanded forces fought a prolonged and successful campaign against left-backed insurgents in the country's southern Dhofar area in the early 1970s.

The sultanate's strategic importance has increased dramatically since the outbreak of the

Gulf war, mainly because of Oman's control of territory on one side of the Strait of Hormuz, through which 30 percent to 40 percent of the non-communist world's crude oil is transported.

Oman's armed forces have been built slowly with attention to in-depth education and training. The result is more than 500 fully-fledged local officers ranking up to brigadier general.

But the Gulf as a whole shows little sign of having the patience to adopt such a structured approach. The Dir Jazirah (Island Shield) maneuvers that recently ended in the United Arab Emirates involved tanks, armored vehicles, mechanized infantry and ground attack aircraft.

Although all the Gulf rulers would like to be reliant on an Arab regional force for security, it seems highly unlikely that Western military strength can ever be far away from official minds, despite the fact that it remains firm policy to avoid any overt display of that strength.

The biggest perceived threat is undoubtedly the possible spillover of the war between Iran and Iraq into other Gulf areas — for example, through an Iranian attempt to close the Strait of Hormuz or through air attacks on oil installations.

A NATO-like structure, even if desired, is unlikely to be established in the short term. The fact that maneuvers have been held at all is a political achievement in itself. They are likely to be an annual event and in 1984 will probably feature air and naval exercises. There seems to be a determination to overcome previous political obstacles to achieving progress on defense cooperation.

### Pace of Development Is Slowing Down

FACED BY the dramatic fall in oil prices this year, Gulf oil-producing states are having to adjust to sharply lower revenues, and for the first time in years are scrutinizing their economic development plans.

Saudi Arabia is running a current account deficit of \$21 billion this year; Oman and Bahrain each have deficits of nearly \$1 billion. Kuwait and Qatar are expected to get over the slump without serious damage, but, the United Arab Emirates, the Gulf's trading center, has predicted its largest budget deficit ever. Oil exports make up more than 90 percent of the Emirates' income.

When prices began to fall, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and Oman moved quickly to cut their import bills. That hurt Bahrain and the Emirates, which depend on re-export to other Gulf states as a source of income. A continuation of this trend could lead to major declines in consumption — which ballooned in the oil-producing states during the prosperous 1970s — and could harm a private sector that has shown a preference for commercial activities as opposed to medium- or long-term investment.

Experts say the Gulf governments will have to place greater stress on industry and agriculture in order to adjust to the new conditions. Industrialization would open up new areas for private investment, but might eventually lead to restraints on the Gulf's open markets, to protect national production. It also would require finding new sources of foreign capital and markets for exports.

The Gulf's production of petrochemicals, iron, steel, aluminum, cement and fertilizer are expected to surge in 1985, opening the way for exports as local demand declines.

One study points out, however, that the industrial plans of all the Gulf states continue to allocate the bulk of available funds to oil-related industries, including refining and petrochemicals.

Only Saudi Arabia and Oman have made significant moves to diversify their economies and to build a sound base for industrialization. Saudi Arabia, which in the last decade developed an infrastructure that should fill its needs through the year 2000, has cut spending on transportation, education, port development

and agriculture by about one-fifth. It is channeling more funds to industry and power generation.

The kingdom leads the Gulf in iron and steel production, with an annual output of 800,000 tons of iron and 140,000 tons of steel. Oman now manufactures products including appliances, processed foods and construction materials.

All Gulf states, however, share the problem of high production costs. The cost of importing labor is a big part of this, and studies predict that the use of foreign workers will continue to grow for the rest of this decade, despite the economic slowdown.

The native labor force is now only 10 percent of the total in the U.A.E., 14 percent in Qatar, 34 percent in Kuwait, 46 percent in Bahrain, 48 percent in Saudi Arabia and 58 percent in Oman.

The scarcity of raw materials and the continued dependence on imported technology, along with the drop in available capital, make energy the sole cheap productive factor in industry.

—OLFAT TOHAMY

### From Tehran, the Gulf Council Appears Hostile

ALTHOUGH the Gulf Cooperation Council does not include Iraq, it is considered a hostile organization by Tehran.

The Iranian press often describes it as a re-creation of the Central Treaty Organization, which was formally dissolved after the Iranian revolution.

During its peak period, CENTO, as the organization was known, included a monarchical Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Britain.

The United States was an associate member.

In the absence of a formal link between the GCC and a Western nation, the Iranian media highlight military ties between individual GCC members and the United States. A recent Tehran radio commentary, for instance, pointed out that Washington had spent \$210 million on building or improving Omani military facilities on Masirah Island, Thumit airport near Salalah and Seeb airport near the Strait of Hormuz. It also said that in Bahrain there was "a floating U.S. naval base" of five warships. Not surprisingly, Iran is extremely hostile to Oman and Bahrain.

As a major financier of Iraq's

war with Iran, Saudi Arabia receives its share of subsidies by Tehran. Yet the two countries have to deal directly with each other — to arrange pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina by tens of thousands of Iranian Muslims.

Kuwait is one of the two GCC members to have diplomatic relations with Iran, the other is the United Arab Emirates. With 30 percent of its citizens belonging to the Shiite sect, Kuwait cannot afford to be hostile to Tehran. The Emirates is the only GCC country to have regular air service with Iran. And Dubai, the Emirates' chief port, does thriving business with the Islamic republic.

Despite the varied nature of its relations with individual GCC countries, Iran remains strongly antipathetic to the organization as a whole. On the eve of the last GCC summit meeting in February, Sobhe-e Azadegan, a pro-regime

Iranian newspaper, warned the GCC rulers: "The reactionary regimes who have associated their interests with the United States and other imperialist countries have to be aware that these deeds of theirs will bring harm to their countries and their peoples. They must return to the lap of Islam, abandon the Saddam Hussein regime in Baghdad, and stop squandering the wealth of their peoples."

—DILIP HIRO

### The Iran-Iraq War: No Settlement in Sight

(Continued From Page 9)

did, Amsterdam, Singapore and Seoul.

At the same time efforts are continuing to make Iran self-sufficient in the manufacture of small arms and in the repairs and maintenance of U.S. and British weapons. Since the war, the small arms output of Iran has tripled. Last December, Colonel Mohammed Salimi, the Iranian defense minister, said that the indigenous aircraft industry was manufacturing 80 percent of the spare parts needed to maintain U.S. F-14 jet fighters.

So far Iran has failed to buy warplanes abroad. No member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or the Warsaw Pact is willing to sell them to Tehran. The same is true of the neutral European states, since their military aircraft are equipped with U.S., British or French jet engines. Iran's only hope lies with China.

Yet, a shortage of airworthy jet fighters remains Tehran's single most important military problem. Before the revolution, Iran had 430 warplanes. In the course of the war, it has lost about 80 aircraft. Of the rest, only about a third are known to be airworthy. In contrast, Iraq has about 400 serviceable Soviet and French combat aircraft.

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Lack of operational aircraft has compelled Iran's military leaders to use them primarily for defense purposes: protection of airfields, refineries, oil fields, installations and important cities.

Most of the Iranian offensives of the last 18 months were launched without close air support, resulting in heavy loss of life.

But that apparently has diminished neither the morale of the Iranians nor their commitment to fight on until President Saddam Hussein agrees to withdraw and pay \$150 billion in war damages (and the Iranian government believes that such a decision would pave the way for his downfall).

### Common Market: Future Force?

(Continued From Page 9)

long-term objectives also include a common currency. The GCC members have met serious difficulties in their first attempt to implement the agreement.

During the last year, committee and ministerial meetings have been held to unify the customs rates, as stipulated in one of the clauses of the agreement.

The disputes over the subject ended with Oman's being exempted from the 4-percent rate to protect its local production of asbestos, plastics, detergents, electrical appliances and batteries. But Bahrain, which previously levied customs reaching up to 20 percent,

reluctantly went along with the others.

Their efforts to lay a solid base for future economic unity have generally been successful, despite conflicts of interest in some cases.

Examples of this include an oil refinery with a capacity of 200,000 barrels a day in Salalah, on the Indian Ocean coast of Oman, to be fed by Saudi oil pumped through a pipeline, bypassing the Gulf.

Another example is that of the Sittira refinery in Bahrain, also connected to a pipeline carrying Saudi oil. A feasibility study has been made for a gas grid to supply the Gulf states' domestic needs before the surplus is exported.

—OLFAT TOHAMY

### CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT BAILEY is special reports editor of the London-based Middle East Economic Digest.

DILIP HIRO is a London-based writer who specializes in Middle Eastern affairs. He contributes to the Sunday Times of London and the Guardian, among other publications, and is the author of "Inside The Middle East," published by Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, and the McGraw-Hill Book Co.

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OLFAT TOHAMY is a Cairo-based journalist who writes about the Middle East for The Washington Post and other publications.



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ALL INFORMATION







Table with multiple columns listing various companies and their stock prices. Includes a sub-header '(Continued from Page 14)'.

Table with multiple columns listing various companies and their stock prices. Includes a sub-header 'Over-the-Counter'.

Table with multiple columns listing various companies and their stock prices. Includes a sub-header 'Chicago Exchange Options'.

Table with multiple columns listing various companies and their stock prices. Includes a sub-header 'American Exchange Options'.

Table with multiple columns listing various companies and their stock prices. Includes a sub-header 'Consolidated Trading of NYSE Listings'.

ENERGY SEARCH ONE N.V.  
NOTICE OF  
GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS TO BE  
HELD ON THE 30th NOVEMBER 1983

To the shareholders:

Notice is hereby given that a general meeting of shareholders of Energy Search One N.V. shall be held on November 30, 1983 at 10.00 o'clock in the forenoon at De Ruyterkade 28-A, Willemstad, Curaçao, for the purpose of resolutions to be taken, to the extent necessary, in respect of the following items:

- To report on the course of business during the fiscal year ended December 1982.
- To approve the consolidated balance sheet as at December 31, 1982 and the consolidated statement of income for the year ended December 31, 1982 of Energy Search One N.V. and its wholly owned subsidiaries E S One BV I Ltd., E S One Capital Corporation, E S One Colorado Inc. and Energy Search Capital Corporation N.V.
- To approve the declaration of a shareholders dividend.
- To elect the Managing Director.
- To elect Supervisory Directors.
- To ratify the appointment of Messrs Coopers and Lybrand as certified public accountants to audit the books and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1982.
- To amend the Company's Articles of Incorporation in order to permit trading of the Company's shares on the secondary market in the U.S. and Canada.
- Nomination of new Board of Supervisory Directors.
- Termination of management contract.
- Modification of Articles of Incorporation.
- Mandate to board for:  
(i) distribution of Chronar shares.  
(ii) negotiate new management contract.
- Discussion of such other matters as may properly come before the meeting.

In order to exercise their rights at this meeting, holders of bearer shares must establish their ownership of such shares in a manner satisfactory to the chairman of the meeting.

November 7, 1983

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Continental Illinois Faces  
\$58.5 Million Tax Claim

WASHINGTON — The Internal Revenue Service is seeking \$58.5 million in back taxes from Continental Illinois Corp., the nation's seventh-largest banking organization, according to documents on file with the U.S. Tax Court.

Continental Illinois is contesting the IRS claim, which covers the years 1975 through 1979. The IRS claims represent almost 70 percent of Continental's operating profit in 1982, although the precise impact on the company's financial statements is not known. Banks often have private tax disputes with the IRS but a Tax Court case of this size is unusual, according to tax lawyers Friday. The bank-holding company had not disclosed the dispute in its annual report mailed earlier this year to shareholders and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Consolidated Trading  
OF AMEX Listings  
After Excess Nov. 4

Table with multiple columns listing various companies and their stock prices.

Consolidated Trading  
OF NYSE Listings  
After Excess Nov. 4

Table with multiple columns listing various companies and their stock prices.

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Over-the-Counter

Table with multiple columns listing various stocks and their prices. Includes sub-sections like 'Selling in 100s' and 'Selling in 1000s'.

Study Says U.S. Is Headed for Strong 4th Period

**The Associated Press**  
**NEW YORK**—The U.S. economy opened the year's final quarter with a bang, extending its recovery with higher production and steady prices, a study said Sunday.

In its monthly business survey, the National Association of Purchasing Management said the economy improved in October at a faster pace than it did in September.

Besides gains in industrial output, the employment picture continued to brighten, capital spending rose and businesses showed greater confidence in the economic recovery.

"Based on these indicators, a solid fourth quarter seems assured," the association said.

The association bases its monthly reports on a survey of corporate executives in charge of buying goods and services for 250 industrial corporations.

The group's Purchasing Managers' Composite Index, measuring changes in production, new orders, employment, vendor performance and inventories, rose in October to 61.2 percent from 60.2 percent in September. A reading above 50 percent indicates that the economy is growing; below 50 percent indicates a declining economy.

The employment reading was on the upswing for the fifth straight month, the association said, although the rate of improvement was slower than in September.

The Labor Department reported Friday that the civilian unemployment rate fell in October to 8.8 percent of the work force from 9.3 percent in September. The October rate was the lowest in 20 months as the number of unemployed people fell below 10 million for the first time since March 1982.

The purchasing managers' survey said industrial production continued to grow modestly in October, while incoming new orders were reported to be increasing at a brisk pace. Although the increase in new orders was smaller than in September, the association said the October gains were "still looking very positive."

The survey said inventories remained low, a situation that the association called surprising.

"This may indicate a fundamental change in business strategy regarding inventory policy," said Charles T. Haefly, chairman of the association and vice president of Pfizer Inc.'s purchasing division. "Purchasing managers seem determined to operate with lower inventories, even in the face of continued demand for goods."

The October survey said inflation remained moderate. The number of purchasing managers reporting higher prices increased fractionally, as did the number reporting lower prices.

"Given the strength in the economy, this is a very favorable sign," said Mr. Haefly.

Among the items reported to have increased in price were aluminum, steel, zinc, paper, corrugated cardboard and resins. Copper, silver, gasoline and caustic soda were reported down in price.

The survey also said companies were making lower-term commitments on purchases. Mr. Haefly said that indicated that buyers were in a stronger financial position and had greater confidence in the economy.

Brazil Woes Squeezing Bourgeoisie

**(Continued from Page 13)**

and their three young boys, were filling up two cars with staples — to have them, he said, before prices rose again. Mr. Figueiredo is a computer programmer.

"It has affected our whole life," Mr. Figueiredo said. "You have to ration food. You can't travel. Anything you do, you have to spend a lot. You have to keep cutting things." His latest cut, he said, was his car, a Volkswagen Beetle, which he sold.

The freeway is one of the largest supermarkets in Brazil, with 76 checkout counters and acres of floor space.

Carlos Mauricio, 45, the manager and part-owner with three other men, said he built the store two years ago after numerous visits to supermarkets in the United States, especially to those of the Safeway chain in Oakland, California. He said he is building two more freeways, in São Paulo and Brasília.

From a balcony overlooking the sales floor, Mr. Mauricio can monitor the activity. Late on a weekday afternoon, after most people had left work, there was not a single line at the checkout counters. In each broad aisle, no more than two or three people were pushing carts.

"We rather prefer to operate a supermarket when inflation is not rampant," Mr. Mauricio said. "We are having difficulty now because when you sell the product, the money you get is sometimes not enough to buy more of the product the next month."

"We are subject to mistakes," he said, "because prices change so often, so quickly, that we make a lot of mistakes pricing products."

With so many changes, salespeople can not remember prices, so if the price tag gets lost, the line has to stop while the sales clerk looks up the price.

Mr. Mauricio said the prices of many products are controlled by the government and are raised once a month to 80 percent of the previous month's overall rise in consumer prices. By agreement with other supermarkets, he said, the Freeway holds increases of other items to the 80 percent limit as well. The store makes a profit, he said, but only just.

Over the last year, Mr. Mauricio said he had seen the effects of the economy on people's purchases of "superfluous" things. "We have 25,000 products," he said. "One thousand are necessities, and 24,000 are superfluous."

Shoppers at the Freeway seethe with anger and resentment, but there is no consensus on whom or what to blame for their predicament. Some, like Mrs. Soares da Silva, blame President João Baptista Figueiredo; some blame the International Monetary Fund, which is directing the developed world's supervision of Brazil's foreign debt totaling about \$90 billion; and others blame the United States.

"I might be wrong, but we think the Americans are guilty," said a woman who identified herself only as Mrs. Souza. She had her grandson with her, whom she was pushing in a stroller, and her daughter.

"I had a good life," Mrs. Souza said. "My husband worked. I worked. I had good money. We'd go to Europe. Then our life went downhill." She said, thrusting her hand toward the floor like a plane in a nose dive.

A man who said his name was Sergio and who works for the state-owned electrical power company, said he was angry about the allegations, common in the press lately, that government employees have been overindulged with pay and perquisites.

"Everyone points their finger at them," Sergio said. "Everyone says they caused the situation. Go see for yourself! It's not true!" The blame, he said, rests with the administration in Brasília. "Brazil is a hard country to run," he said, "but a major part of the problem is bad administration."

3d Quarter Profits Disappoint Some

**(Continued from Page 13)**

Co. one of \$333 million and Chrysler Corp. one of \$100 million. Only American Motors Corp. had a loss, of \$9.1 million.

In the oil, Exxon Corp., the world's largest industrial concern, had the group's earnings to higher ground as results improved overseas. Its profit rose 21 percent. Exxon and its Aramco partners no longer were forced to buy Saudi crude at a fixed high price.

The other Aramco partners also fared well in the third quarter. Standard Oil Co. of California reported a 10.9 percent gain in net. Mobil Oil Corp.'s earnings climbed 42.3 percent and Texaco Inc.'s net increased 9.2 percent.

Among the steelmakers, U.S. Steel Corp., earning \$52 million, returned to the black in the third quarter for the first time in more than a year as it benefitted from rising oil income and a smaller loss in its steel operations.

Other steel producers, although suffering losses, were able to make them less painful than last year.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. narrowed its deficit to \$9.9 million, from \$26 million. Republic Steel Corp. with a loss of \$35 million and Inland Steel Co. with a deficit of \$21 million, about halved their losses from year earlier.

Chemical company earnings, benefiting from cost-cutting and improved foreign-exchange rates, were up modestly.

Qatar May Borrow Abroad

**DOHA, Qatar** — Qatar may borrow on the world financial market to finance its extensive budget deficit, the country's minister of finance and petroleum, Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Khalifa al-Thani, was quoted Sunday as telling the Gulf News.

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(Continued From Back Page)

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ELMO, WHAT'S THE MATTER?

I LET MY PARAKEET OUT OF HIS CAGE AND HE FLEW AWAY!

THERE'S A PARAKEET STANDING ON TOP OF YOUR HEAD

I KNOW...

BUT HE'S NOT MINE! BOO-HOO-HOO

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STOP! YOU KNOW THE RULES! YOU CAN'T HIT ME!

OH, YEAH? WELL, WATCH THIS, BEETLE!!

IT'S THE THOUGHT THAT COUNTS.

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11-7

MARK WAID

TCH. CHEERFUL ONE MINUTE,  
 MISERABLE THE NEXT.  
 I RECKON YOU'VE  
 GOT A SPLIT PERSONALITY

THAT'S  
 TRUE...

KEEP OUT OF THIS,  
 MOTHER

YOU'AVE  
 LESBIAN,  
 MISSUS

IT TOOK A REAL CLEVER  
 LASS TO LAND THAT  
 BLOKE, FLO, AND A  
 REAL THIN I WANT TO

11-7

S-Simpson

THIS MAN HELD UP THE STAGECOACH AND TERRORIZED THE PASSENGERS!

JAIL IS TOO GOOD FOR YOU!

MERCY, SIRE!

—THIRTY YEARS IN THE RESTROOM AT THE BUS TERMINAL!

© 1998 Dave Coverly, Inc. 11/27/98

PAPER!

UPSET WHEN RICHARD HUNGES UP ON HER, LORRAINE WALKS OUT TO THE NURSES' STATION AND ASKS TO CALL HIM AGAIN!

IT'S LATE NOW, MRS. TANDEN! HE'LL BE STOPPING IN TO SEE YOU "TOMORROW." I JUST TALKED WITH MORGAN ON THE PHONE. HE'LL BE HERE EARLY IN THE MORNING!

YES--AND HE'LL TRY TO TALK ME INTO STAYING HERE!

WELL, I'M NOT GOING TO DO IT! I JUST WANT TO GO HOME AND TAKE CARE OF MY HUSBAND AND DAUGHTER!

I'M SURE YOU DO! IT'S ONLY A QUESTION OF WHETHER YOU'RE READY TO TAKE ON THAT RESPONSIBILITY RIGHT NOW.

THE DICK VAN DYKE SHOW  
 STORY BY BOB BAY  
 ART BY BOB BAY

HEY, GARFIELD, WE'RE GOING TO VISIT AUNT GUSSIE

I KNOW SHE'S OLD AND MEAN, BUT UNDERNEATH SHE HAS A HEART OF GOLD

I HEAR SHE USED TO DOUBLE-DATE WITH LIZZIE BORDEN

JEFF DAVIS

© 1982 United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

**ENCAP**  
 [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

**REVUC**  
 [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

**MACIOT**  
 [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

**RAHPON**  
 [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

Print answer here

[illegible]

## Evert and Connors Reach Doubles Final

Top-seeded Wendy Turnbull and John Lloyd lost to Jaeger and Tanner, 1-6, 4-6, in 48 minutes, thus eliminating the possibility that Lloyd might play against his wife, Evert, in the final. Second-seeded JoAnne Russell and Sherwood Stewart lost to Nagelsen and Walks, 4-6, 6-4, 4-6, and fourth-seeded Bettina Runge and Björn Borg were eliminated by Mikiwa and Nasse, 6-3, 6-2.

"I'm not sure if we're in the final — we didn't know here expecting to lose," said Connors, who was playing with Evert for the first time since they broke off their engagement nine years ago.

The other semifinal was marked by several heated exchanges between Nastase and Tanner. In the seventh game of the second set, after Nastase slammed an overhead at Jaeger, Tanner approached Nastase at the net and the two exchanged words. In the following game, the crowd loudly booed Nastase for slamming another overhead at Jaeger. In the final game of the next game by drilling a serve at Nastase, who responded with an obscene gesture.

Jaeger broke the tension in the 12th game of the second set when she jokingly threw a ball, which hit Nastase in the back.

## Norman Wins Hawaiian Golf by 6 Strokes

KAPALUA, Hawaii (UPI) — Greg Norman of Australia shot a closing 67 Saturday to win the Kapalua International golf tournament by six strokes with a 16-under-par 268. Norman never let up from the two-stroke lead he held at the start of the final 18 holes after shooting 67, 69, and a course-judging record 65.

Scott Simpson (with a 69/70 for the last two rounds), Lannie Wadkins (69/68) and Ben Crenshaw (68/68) tied for second at 274, 10-under. Japan's Masahiro Yamamoto (67/70) and fifth-round 65, Ben Crenshaw's long-sister Norman, started the final round two-strokes back in second place but faded (68/73) to finish in a three-way tie at 276 with Gil Morgan (65/68) and Andy Ben (66/76). Craig Stricker

(67/69) and John Cook (69/69) another stroke back at 277.

## Transition

**BASKEBALL**  
**AMERICAN LEAGUE**  
**KANSAS CITY**—Named Lee May batting instructor.

**NATIONAL LEAGUE**  
**NEW YORK**—Named Mel Stottmire pitching coach.

**PHILADELPHIA**—Cut Ray Christensen, pitcher. Added Joe Campanale, catcher. Francisco Mauer, first baseman. Ken Durrell, shortstop. Rick Scho, third baseman. and George Riley, pitcher, to the all-time roster.

**ST. LOUIS**—Added Jose Brilla, Kevin Gates, Rich Harten, Kurt Kneibitz, Terry Clark, Dick Overmyer, pitchers. Tony Nola and Bob Garret, catchers. and Jose Gonzalez, infielder, to the 40-man roster. Outrighted Jeff Keiser, pitcher. Orlando

Sanchez, catcher, and Jimmy Sosa, infielder, to Louisville of American Association. Announced that the Major Cardinals of the South Atlantic League will move to Savannah, Georgia, for the 1984 season.

**BASKETBALL**  
**National Basketball Association**  
**LEAGUE**—Fired center Bob Lanier of Milwaukee Bucks. Drafting with center Bill Laimbeer of Detroit during a season Nov. 1.

**FOOTBALL**  
**United States Football League**  
**SAN ANTONIO**—Signed Stanley Washington, wide receiver. Gary Don Johnson, defensive tackle, and John Zeno, guard. Named Tammie Roberts assistant coach.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

FL Standings				CAMPBELL CONFERENCE			
EASTERN DIVISION				North Division			
W	L	T	PTS	W	L	T	PTS
1	2	0	42	1	2	0	42
2	8	0	36	4	4	0	36
3	10	0	30	5	7	0	30
4	8	0	34	6	4	0	28
5	10	0	38	7	7	0	28
6	10	0	26	8	7	0	26
7	11	0	22	9	7	0	22
8	7	0	42	10	7	0	20
9	7	0	42	11	7	0	18
10	7	0	42	12	7	0	16
11	5	0	48	13	7	0	14
12	7	0	42	14	7	0	12
13	7	0	42	15	7	0	10
14	7	0	42	16	7	0	8
15	7	0	42	17	7	0	6
16	7	0	42	18	7	0	4
17	7	0	42	19	7	0	2
18	7	0	42	20	7	0	0
19	7	0	42	21	7	0	0
20	7	0	42	22	7	0	0
21	7	0	42	23	7	0	0
22	7	0	42	24	7	0	0
23	7	0	42	25	7	0	0
24	7	0	42	26	7	0	0
25	7	0	42	27	7	0	0
26	7	0	42	28	7	0	0
27	7	0	42	29	7	0	0
28	7	0	42	30	7	0	0
29	7	0	42	31	7	0	0
30	7	0	42	32	7	0	0
31	7	0	42	33	7	0	0
32	7	0	42	34	7	0	0
33	7	0	42	35	7	0	0
34	7	0	42	36	7	0	0
35	7	0	42	37	7	0	0
36	7	0	42	38	7	0	0
37	7	0	42	39	7	0	0
38	7	0	42	40	7	0	0
39	7	0	42	41	7	0	0
40	7	0	42	42	7	0	0
41	7	0	42	43	7	0	0
42	7	0	42	44	7	0	0
43	7	0	42	45	7	0	0
44	7	0	42	46	7	0	0
45	7	0	42	47	7	0	0
46	7	0	42	48	7	0	0
47	7	0	42	49	7	0	0
48	7	0	42	50	7	0	0
49	7	0	42	51	7	0	0
50	7	0	42	52	7	0	0
51	7	0	42	53	7	0	0
52	7	0	42	54	7	0	0
53	7	0	42	55	7	0	0
54	7	0	42	56	7	0	0
55	7	0	42	57	7	0	0
56	7	0	42	58	7	0	0
57	7	0	42	59	7	0	0
58	7	0	42	60	7	0	0
59	7	0	42	61	7	0	0
60	7	0	42	62	7	0	0
61	7	0	42	63	7	0	0
62	7	0	42	64	7	0	0
63	7	0	42	65	7	0	0
64	7	0	42	66	7	0	0
65	7	0	42	67	7	0	0
66	7	0	42	68	7	0	0
67	7	0	42	69	7	0	0
68							

cardboardy feel. You laughed at them, but never really cared.

With "Wise Virgin," however, Wilson has successfully balanced his gift for wicked comedy with caring and compassion, and in doing so he has written a small but immaculately shaped novel that takes its title from the parable of "The Wise and Foolish Virgins." The Foolish Virgins, as Wilson writes, were those who "tasted the fruits of forbidden concupiscence and earthly lust. They married and feasted and knew the pains of childbirth and the sorrows of the infant and the cruelty and fickleness of man. But the Wise Virgins gave themselves to Holy Religion; in place of eating they satated themselves with the nourishment of holy meditation; and in place of carnal concupiscence, they were satisfied to know that they were the paramours of Christ Our Lord."

As Giles Fox, the hero of "Wise Virgin" slowly matures, he begins to redefine these terms of innocence and experience. A modern British descendant of Hawthorne's shriveled protagonists, Giles is a man guilty of the sin of intellect, a man who has grown a hard, shiny shell of cynicism around his youthful disappointments. Having failed to win a coveted Cambridge fellowship, he has spent the rest of his life trying to show up his former colleagues by explicating a medieval treatise on virginity and faith. Though he can deliver lengthy discourses on the manuscript's "sources, philology, intellectual or linguistic origins," he has little interest in its actual contents — after all, he is a fervent nonbeliever, and a lusty philanderer as well.

Blind to love, Giles suddenly finds himself deprived of his actual sight, and he grows dependent on the ministrations of two youngish virgins: Louise Agar, his shy, limping assistant, who types and collates his manuscripts; Tibba, his lovely teen-age daughter, who has been blind since her mother's death running his house and life.

That life, it seems, belongs to another time, for Giles deplores anything even vaguely smelt of modernity; he claims he has never read a novel written after 1914, and he turns off the radio whenever "current" affairs were mentioned; it was solely, for him, a musical box. Tibba, too, remains ignorant of her contemporaries' world: while quotes from Racine and Scott and Virginia Woolf pepper her conversation, the realities of modern life — from the Social Democrats to eye makeup — remain, to her, strangely alien concepts.

a spades was  
spaced. He hid  
the Mid-  
understanding  
increase the  
beginning  
lead would  
down four  
West's decli-  
diamond ace  
hope: Ace  
would fall  
and be an en-  
joy for heart  
hands.

expect it from  
the diagram,  
it did fall in  
North-South

enanced? East-  
her strange  
low in the  
no interest in  
applied this

blindly, with catastrophic con-  
sequences.

Before the next deal East-West  
had some conversation. They  
agreed to abandon both the  
negative double and their high-  
low-in-trumps-denying-a-ruff.

NORTH

♠ 64  
♥ 83  
♦ KQJ10843  
♣ 72

WEST EAST

♠ 88  
♥ AQ107  
♦ A2  
♣ AJ1064

♠ 7  
♥ 75  
♦ 9765  
♣ KQ853

SOUTH

♠ AQ107773  
♥ K1043  
♦ —  
♣ —

Both sides were vulnerable. The  
bidding:

South West North East  
1♣ 1♥ 2♣ 2♠  
2♠ 2♥ 3♣ 3♠  
3♠ 3♥ Pass Pass  
Pass Pass

West led the diamond ten.

# ence Standings

MAJOR INDEPENDENTS		W	L	T	Pct.	GP
5	1 246-236	9	1	0	.265	77
6	0 186-288	7	7	0	.250	138
7	0 128-254	7	2	0	.273	72
<b>Big Game</b>						
1	1 175-127	7	2	0	.286	71
2	1 149-145	7	2	0	.283	104
3	1 107-253	6	3	3	.222	229
4	1 127-194	6	3	3	.222	128
8	0 232-224	6	3	0	.200	148
9	2 176-258	6	4	0	.200	247
10	1 07-253	4	4	0	.172	129
11	0 122-225	3	4	0	.143	129

**Ball Scores**

TCU 14, Texas Tech 16  
FAIR WEST  
Air Force 45, Hawaii 10  
California 24, Arizona 24, 24  
Colorado St. 41, N. Colorado 26  
Long Beach St. 25, Montana 14  
New Mexico 12, Wyoming 10  
New Mexico St. 65, Wichita St. 28  
Southern Cal 26, Stanford 27  
UCLA 24, Oregon 13  
Utah 47, Pittsburgh St. 20  
Utah St. 22, San Jose St. 15  
Washington 28, Arizona 22  
Washington St. 27, Oregon St. 9

2	OF	GA.	Winnipeg & Toronto 2 (Howarth 2), Be-
3	62	50	lych 4), DeBolis (5), Arnel (5), Young (1).
4	62	50	Boesham 2 (9), Sten (4), Dertoso (3),
5	61	51	McCourt (4).
6	64	53	Saturday's Results:
7	62	50	N.Y. Islanders 4, Buffalo 0 (Gilbert 4), Pot-
8	59	49	vin (4), Tonelli (3), Bosay (7).
9	59	49	Edmonton 7, Pittsburgh 3 (Pozner 1), Kurtz
10	58	44	(7), Heesler (3), Jackson (3), Grege (2), Bar-
11	58	49	derston (1), Coffey (7), Bulford (9), Taylor
12	58	49	(4), Errey (2).

[illegible]



## SPORTS

## Maree's Long-Run Laurel Will Be Sense of Freedom

By Jane Leavy  
Washington Post Service

VILLANOVA, Pennsylvania — In the beginning, Sydney Maree ran because that is what soccer players do. And soccer is what young blacks in South Africa do when they are free to dream.

On weekends, they would get up at 5 in the morning and run in their soccer shoes and pretend, like their fathers did before them, that they were free to run. But Maree was the oldest of six children in a family that lived without indoor plumbing and other amenities, such as freedom.

He had little time for soccer. Babysitting and housework did not improve his dribbling. He was doomed to a reserve.

Soon after South Africa was isolated by the athletic world at the 1976 Montreal Olympics, the rules were changed at home, allowing blacks to compete with whites. A man named Tinas Mamabolo was the first black to run against whites and win.

Around the same time, Maree ran his first 1,500-meter race and finished second. But he was noticed by a white teacher who told him to run more kilometers and let his chest grow. Soon, like Mamabolo, he was running against whites and beating them.

"I wanted to keep doing it," he said. "I remember very well sometimes I would cry tears during my run. There was a feeling of freedom. It was the one thing I had decided for me — how I would sleep, how I would live."

"Subconsciously, I have a mission. When I started running, I started wondering why black people in South Africa are limited. Why couldn't they train at the same facilities, why couldn't they use the same bat-

rooms, why couldn't sit in the same restaurants. I said, 'Does it mean we are inferior?'

"I wanted to prove, No — given an opportunity, we can excel. I would like always to be like Tinas, winning the first championship."

In the beginning, before he knew how free running would make him, before he knew how much more he would have to endure, running was a means to an end. Now, six years after coming to the United States, he has discovered it still is.

Maree, 27, will become a U.S. citizen in April and, he hopes, a medalist at the Los Angeles Games next summer. Then he will enter law school at Villanova, where he earned his degree in economics.

Last March, Maree, with his wife, Lisa, and their 14-month-old daughter, Natalya, visited his family in South Africa in the new brick house he built for them on the same plot of land in the same ghetto where he lived as a teen-ager.

His wife says being in South Africa "made me understand where he got his inner strength, his competitiveness, because he had to fight, fight for everything he got."

There are those who wonder why he goes back. There are those who have denounced him for his failure to denounce South Africa. In some measure, his family is the answer to both questions.

"I am on no mission to please the South African government," he said. "I am on no mission to create adverse reaction for my family. I'm just fighting for the same cause in a different way. I don't believe in bloodshed, revolution. I believe in evolution."

He knows the best he can do is be the best he can be and force white South Africa to respect him and confront the essence of its bigotry. That is his mission. The decision to apply for U.S. citizenship was a long

and difficult one that began in June 1977 when he stepped off the plane in New York. He was bewildered and scared. "We had breakfast," said Jack Pyrah, the assistant track coach at Villanova. "If you asked him something, he would answer yes, no and maybe. That was all you got out of him. When he first came, he thought he was going right back. He had no idea he was going to go to school."

He was offered a track scholarship. He stayed and stayed alone, enigmatic. "I didn't realize I was a human being until I got to this country," Maree said. "In South Africa, it is illegal for a white man and a black man to spend the night under the same roof. I roomed with a white man at Villanova."

He learned "that white men are just as human as I am, they work as hard as I do. Before that, I thought God had given them all the good things in life. There was no case where I could look and say, 'Whoa, I'm glad I'm not him.'"

The United States offered him the chance to be glad he was himself, although not right away. The International Amateur Athletic Federation had banned all South Africans from international competition because of the government's apartheid policy. Since the IAAF was not going to discriminate, all black South Africans were banned, too.

Maree was taken captive by the irony of the regulation. Time after time, he came to the starting line only to be turned away. "In South Africa, I was punished for being black," he said. "In the United States, I was punished for being South African."

In the summer of 1981, the IAAF relented and Maree represented the United States in the 1,500 at the World Cup in Rome. The crowd roared "Go USA! Go USA!"

"To realize they meant it for me was overwhelm-

ing," Maree said after finishing fourth in his first international competition.

Maree's strength is his ability to endure. But this summer, some began to doubt him. This June, he tore a hamstring muscle in his right leg and was forced to take a month off. When he returned he failed to make the final of the 1,500 at the world championships in Helsinki.

When they got married, Lisa asked him for a world record. Maree made the promise, thinking how glad he was she didn't set a time limit.

In August, he ran in Brussels against England's Steve Cram. Maree started poorly and finished fourth, coming from behind. He was determined to go out fast in his next race, in Cologne. The only thing he chased was a world record. His 3:31.24 was 12-hundredths of a second faster than Steve Ovett's record. But Ovett regained the record shortly afterward.

Maree says he is capable of running 3:27 or 3:28 and believes that is where the record will be within five years. He says he is going to go to law school and hopes to earn enough to bring his family from South Africa. Another mission.

Sometimes when he was young he wanted to quit, to give in to the pain. But Mamabolo took him aside and said, "Do not stop. Do not give up. If you stop, you'll never experience what it's like to finish. Finishing is your victory."

■ Maree Wins Dublin Mile

Sydney Maree burst to the lead 30 yards from the finish and won Saturday's "Streets of Dublin" mile race. The Associated Press reported. Maree finished in 3 minutes, 49.30 seconds, two-tenths of a second ahead of Spaniard José Abascal. Ray Flynn of Ireland finished third.



Sydney Maree winning Saturday's mile race in Dublin.

## Routing Chargers, 26-3, Steelers Win Sixth Straight

The Associated Press

PITTSBURGH — Cornerback Mel Blount returned a fumble six yards for a touchdown and Pittsburgh's four field goals Sunday as the Steelers won their sixth straight National Football League game, 26-3, over the San Diego Chargers.

Walter Abernethy opened the winners' scoring 2:17 into the game, bursting 6 yards up the middle for a TD one play after teaming with quarterback Cliff Stoudt on a 51-yard pass play.

Anderson made it 10-0 on a 45-yard field goal with 4:21 to go in the quarter, and the score reached 17-0 less than three minutes later. Ed Luther, quarterbacking the

Chargers in place of the injured Dan Fouts, fumbled a snap at the San Diego 11-yard line and Blount scooped up the ball at the 6 and trotted into the end zone untouched.

San Diego's Rolf Benirschke kicked a 39-yard field goal early in the second quarter, but Anderson answered with three pointers of 30 yards later that period, 49 yards in the third quarter and 42 in the fourth.

Anderson's third-quarter field goal followed an interception by linebacker Mike Merrittweather. The one in the final period came after Luther fumbled after being sacked by defensive end Keith Gary.

## NFL ROUNDUP

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showed no ill effects from a neck injury. He completed seven of 12 passes for 107 yards before being replaced in the third quarter by Turk Shomer.

The Oilers had seven turnovers, six in the first half. Five of the miscues led Cincinnati scores.

Patriots 21, Bills 7

In Foxboro, Massachusetts, Steve Grogan hit Clarence Weath-

ers on two scoring bombs to set up another TD with a 35-yard completion to Stanley Morgan as the New England Patriots rallied, 21-7, over Buffalo.

The 5-5 Patriots led, 21-0, until Joe Ferguson threw a 1-yard touchdown pass to Mark Brammer with 4:01 left in the game. The Bills dropped to 6-4.

After a scoreless first quarter, New England capitalized on one of

its four interceptions against Ferguson to take a 7-0 lead. Rick Sanford returned the ball 16 yards to the Patriot 43. Four plays later, Grogan's pass to Morgan put the ball at the Buffalo 4, and on the next play Tony Collins went in for a touchdown.

Grogan capped a five-play, 80-yard drive with a 40-yard pass play to Weathers to give the Patriots a 14-0 halftime lead.

After a scoreless first quarter, New England capitalized on one of

its four interceptions against Ferguson to take a 7-0 lead. Rick Sanford returned the ball 16 yards to the Patriot 43. Four plays later, Grogan's pass to Morgan put the ball at the Buffalo 4, and on the next play Tony Collins went in for a touchdown.

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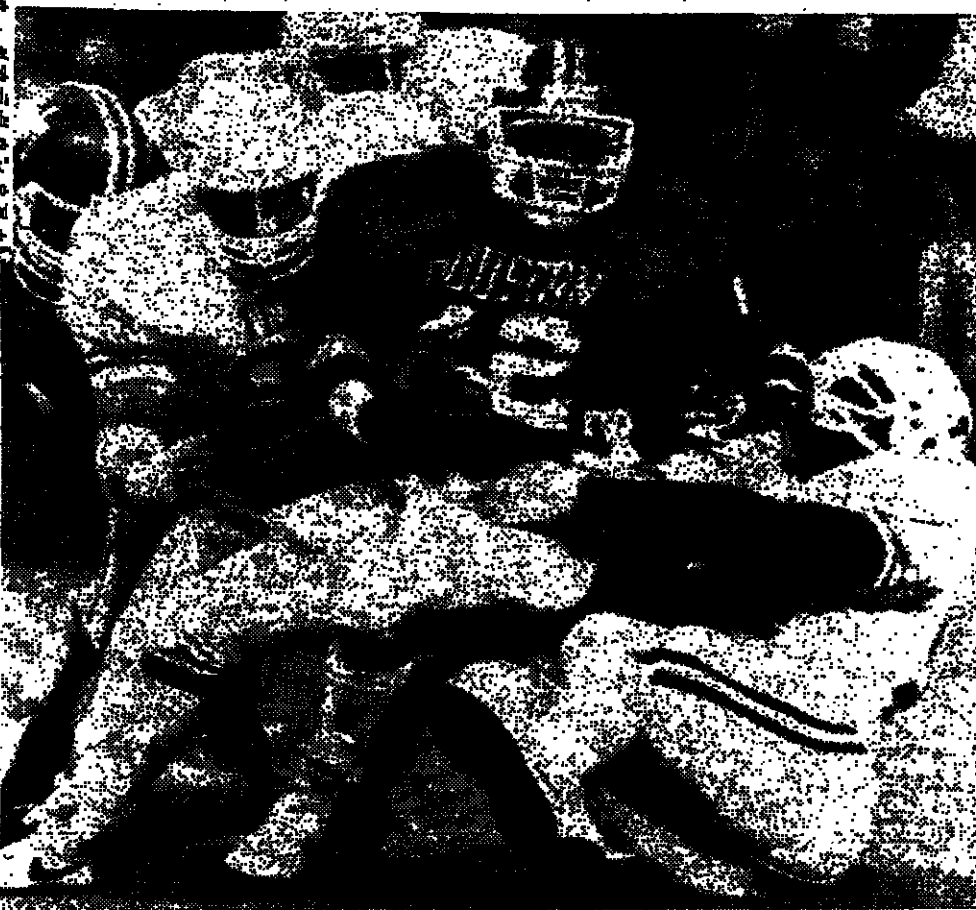
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Spearheading a grudging Texas defense Saturday against Houston were John Haines (left) and Tony Degate, here holding fullback Dwayne Love to a one-yard gain. Texas won, 9-3.

## Nebraska, Texas Still Unbeaten

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LINCOLN, Nebraska — The University of Nebraska, the country's top-ranked football team, pounded Iowa State, 72-29, here Saturday, while Texas, ranked second, used its stingy defense to remain undefeated.

Nebraska's Mike Rozier rushed for 212 yards and four touchdowns, and quarterback Turner Gill threw

for three other scores as the Cornhuskers improved to 10-0. It was Rozier's second straight 200-yard game and the ninth consecutive contest in which the senior 1-back has gained at least 100 yards.

Nebraska had 670 yards in total offense, but the defense was shredded for 346 yards by David Archer, who became Iowa State's all-time passing leader.

Texas 9, Houston 3

In Houston, freshman Jeff Ward kicked field goals of 20, 51 and 47 yards and the Texas defense, tops in the country, came up with four turnovers as the Longhorns downed Houston, 9-3. Texas improved to 8-0 despite being held to only eight first downs. Its offense "struggled throughout the game, failing to gain first-down yardage on 7 of its first 12 drives."

Missouri 10, Oklahoma 0

In Columbia, Missouri, Marion Adler threw a 20-yard touchdown pass to Andy Hill and a swarming defense — led by Jay Wilson, Tracy Mack, Taft Sales and Bobby Bell — shut down Oklahoma for Missouri's 10-0 victory. Oklahoma came into the game averaging almost 290 yards a game rushing, but was held to minus-seven yards in the first half and only 84 for the game. The Sooners were blanked for only the second time in Barry Switzer's 11-year coaching tenure.

Miami 12, East Carolina 7

In Miami, freshman quarterback Bernie Kosar dove over from the 1-yard line with 1:04 to play to allow Miami to edge East Carolina, 12-7. It was the Hurricanes' eighth straight victory after a season-opening loss to Florida. East Carolina has now dropped three games to Florida teams by a total of 10 points.

Auburn 35, Maryland 23

In Auburn, Alabama, Tommie Agnew rushed for 219 yards, including touchdown bursts of 61 and 44 yards, as Auburn defeated Maryland, 35-23. Losing quarterback Boomer Esiason threw for three TDs. Bo Jackson and Lionel James added more than 100 yards each as the Tigers erased a 17-14 fourth-

quarter deficit and improved to 8-1 behind a 450-59 advantage in rushing yards. Auburn, 5-0 in the Southeastern Conference, closed out its regular season on the road against Georgia and Alabama.

Clemson 16, North Carolina 3

In Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Bob Paulding kicked field goals of 27, 28 and 29 yards and Mike Epley threw a third-quarter touchdown pass to guide Clemson to a 16-3 victory over North Carolina. The Tar Heels, losing their second straight after seven victories, gained only 111 yards on the ground.

SMU 20, Rice 6

In Irving, Texas, freshman Jeff Atkins ran for 218 yards and two touchdowns as Southern Methodist smothered Rice, 20-6. The Owls battled SMU to a 6-6 tie through three quarters, intercepting quarterback Lance McIlhenny four times.

Pittsburgh 21, Notre Dame 16

In South Bend, Indiana, Joe McCall scored two touchdowns and John Congemi hit Bill Wallace with a 44-yard pass for another to pace Pitt past Notre Dame, 21-16. The Panthers were never headed after striking for two quick scores in the first period.

Georgia 10, Florida 9

In Jacksonville, Florida, Georgia drove 99 yards for a touchdown with two minutes gone in the fourth quarter to nip Florida, 10-9. After netting only 96 yards for most of the first three quarters, Georgia came up with the game-winning touchdown on a 1-yard drive by Barry Young, Florida, losing to the Bulldogs for the sixth year in a row, was inside the Georgia 25 six times but got only three field goals by Bobby Raymond.

UCLA 24, Oregon 13

In Eugene, Oregon, Kevin Nelson rushed for 131 yards and scored three touchdowns as UCLA held off Oregon, 24-13. Nelson scored on runs of 30, 12 and 4 yards as the Bruins roared to a 21-0 lead.

Southern Cal 30, Stanford 7

In Los Angeles, fullback Kennedy Pola connected with Timmie Ware on a 65-yard touchdown pass on Southern Cal's first offensive play, and a strong defense shut down Stanford in the Trojans' 30-7 victory.

Iowa 34, Wisconsin 14

In Madison, Wisconsin, Chuck Long passed for 231 yards and four touchdowns and Eddie Phillips ran for 162 yards to lead Iowa's 34-14 rout of Wisconsin. The Hawkeyes scored on four of their first five possessions.

B-2, 6-1.

That triumph gave Britain its

Boston College 34, Army 14

In Boston, Doug Flutie threw four touchdown passes as Boston College buried Army, 34-14. Flutie, ranked second in the country in total offense, led the 7-1 Eagles to a 34-0 lead before leaving the game in the third period.

Alabama 32, LSU 26

In Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Walter Lewis threw two touchdown passes as Alabama survived a fourth-quarter scare to down LSU, 32-26. Losing quarterback Jeff Wickham passed for 343 yards.

Michigan 42, Purdue 13

In Ann Arbor, Michigan, quarterback Steve Smith set a school record with four touchdown passes and ran for another score in Michigan's 42-13 routing of Purdue. Smith, who played less than three quarters, completed 11 of 13 passes for 159 yards and picked up an additional 126 yards on option plays.

Virginia Tech 26, Tulane 10

In New Orleans, Mark Cox passed for one touchdown and ran for another and Don Wade kicked two field goals to lead Virginia Tech to a 26-10 victory over Tulane. Cox's 55-yard fourth-period TD pass to Steve Ellsworth was the game-clincher as the Hokies improved to 7-2. (AP, UPI)

U.S. Sweeps to Wightman Cup Crown

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WILLIAMSBURG, Virginia — The United States swept all three matches Saturday to defeat Britain, 6-1, for its fifth consecutive victory in the Wightman Cup women's tennis competition. The Americans now hold a 45-10 lead over Britain in the series.

In the clinching game, Britain's Sue Barker tried unsuccessfully to play on an injured ankle, but Pam Shriver scored a 6-0, 6-1 victory.

Martina Navratilova, the U.S. captain, added another point by beating Jo Durie, 6-3, 6-3, in Saturday's other singles match and then teamed with Shriver in the final match of the three-day competition to defeat the top British doubles team of Durie and Annabel Croft, 6-2, 6-1.

Barker, Britain's No. 2 player and ranked 60th in the world, had injured her Achilles tendon Friday night when the British won their only match, a doubles victory by Barker and Virginia Wade over Candy Reynolds and Paula Smith, 7-5, 3-6, 6-1.

That triumph gave Britain its

first point since 1975 on U.S. soil in Wightman Cup competition.

Barker decided to try to play because the English trailed only 3-1, and she figured to have a better chance against the sixth-ranked Shriver than her potential substitute, Croft, ranked 149th worldwide. But the strained tendon did more than hamper Barker's mobility — it affected her serving velocity and the accuracy of her forehands.

Shriver won the first 10 games while members of the British press were discussing when Barker would make a graceful exit and default because of her injury. But she played the match out (winning the fifth game of the second set), although she struggled to hide her limp between points.

"Everyone always has something wrong with them," Shriver said. "I don't think it would have made that much difference."

While Navratilova was the dominating figure — the British had all but conceded the matches against the world's top female player — Shriver said she felt she was the key to the U.S. victory.

"I was sort of the pivotal person," she said. "The British figured the only way they could win was to get to me, to get me down. But not this time. Maybe I grew up some in the last six years," an allusion to her disastrous Wightman Cup debut.

On Friday, Shriver had pushed the United States into a commanding lead by downing Durie, 6-3, 6-2. Shriver, who has won eight out of 10 matches against Durie, relied on half-volleys and a relentless forcing game to down Durie, ranked 13th in the world. Shriver scored 21 service winners and broke Durie's serve in the fourth game of the first set and in the fifth and seventh games of the second.

In the other singles match Saturday, Navratilova breezed in the first set and broke Durie's serve in the sixth game of the second set to go by 4-2. Navratilova trailed, 0-40, but came back to take five straight points to hold serve.

The series, which began in 1923 and was interrupted five years during World War II, alternates annually between U.S. and British sites. (UPI, AP)



Houston rookie Ralph Sampson coped handily with Detroit veteran Bill Laimbeer in an NBA game Friday night: Sampson had a game-high 26 points as the Rockets won, 113-108.

## NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE				
Atlantic Division				
Boston	4	1	300	1
Philadelphia	3	2	280	2
New York	2	3	260	3
Washington	1	4	240	4
Central Division				
Atlanta	4	1	280	1
Minneapolis	3	2	260	2
Indiana	2	3	240	3
Houston	1	4	220	4
Chicago	1	4	220	5
WESTERN CONFERENCE				
Midwest Division				
Dallas	4	1	280	1
Denver	3	2	260	2
San Diego	2	3	240	3
Kansas City	1	4	220	4
San Antonio	1	4	220	5
Pacific Division				
Golden State	4	1	280	1
Portland	3	2	260	2



